

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

CALSSA

**LANGUAGE ATTITUDES, GENRE AND CULTURAL CAPITAL:
A CASE STUDY OF EAL STUDENTS' ACCESS TO A
FOUNDATION COURSE IN THE HUMANITIES AT UCT.**

**Minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of
the degree: Master of Philosophy specialising in Applied Language
Studies**

by

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March 2001

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the extent to which language and genre can be used to facilitate access for a group of first year students who have English as an additional language in the Humanities at the University of Cape Town enrolled in a foundation course. The use of the genre of the praise poem in the curriculum is used as a case study to address how the cultural capital that this group of students bring with them can be validated, the main aim being to facilitate access to the curriculum.

In exploring students' attitudes to language and genre, data were collected mainly through the use of two questionnaires and interviews, where a qualitative analysis was done by drawing up the main themes which emerged and exploring the implications of these themes for the research question. The questionnaires aimed at identifying students' language preferences for academic writing (the choice being between their respective primary languages and English). The second questionnaire addresses the genre issue more closely by extending the question to include students' attitudes towards praise poetry while the first questionnaire asks about language preference in general. The second part of the research process deals with interviews, which I conducted with three of the students. The interviews were conducted with the aim of addressing the issues that emerged from the questionnaires; issues that I felt needed to be explored further in an interview context.

The findings of this research highlight the ambivalent feelings that students have towards language choice, ambivalence that is brought about by the relations of power at UCT and the hegemony of English in academia as opposed to the status of the African languages. This ambivalence is prevalent among studies that explore the language attitudes of second language speakers. The genre of the praise poem highlighted the importance of participation in the curriculum with EAL students being in a position to explain the workings of the genre to other students who were not familiar with it. The findings also pointed to the limitations of the praise poem in validating EAL students' cultural capital, the reason being the genre's difficult discourse and complexity as a secondary discourse. The data was of value in that it pointed to the use of multilingual strategies such as code-switching and making essay topics accessible in African languages through the employment of postgraduate students who are fluent in these languages. This research was conducted with the aim of using the findings to explore how the foundation curriculum could be better equipped to deal with diversity.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities (CALSSA) at the University of Cape Town. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Abongwe Bangeni

March 2001

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Acknowledgements

Firstly I would like to thank my supervisor Lucia Thesen who through her patience and guidance made the whole research process a worthwhile experience.

I am very grateful to the VVOB without whose generous scholarship this research would not be possible.

I would also like to thank the following people:

- The *Texts in Context* students who participated in the research.
- The Language Development Group staff for being generally supportive.
- My family for their support.

CHAPTER 1

I was reminded of the time when praise poetry was being done. The atmosphere in class, in my lecture was different. I realized that the ... white students were really interested in this praise poetry and we as blacks, we had something to say, to explain to them. So at least we felt like, okay I belong, because at least there is something that is discussed which belongs to us only and we had to explain to them why we do this and that in praise poetry. You know that praise poem that was done in Xhosa in the lecture, we blacks knew it and understood it you know, so we were explaining it to those who did not understand the language. So we were really participating that time.

These words, expressed by one of the students I interviewed for purposes of this research, serves to highlight difference. The quote highlights difference in terms of racial identity and cultural background and more importantly issues around participation in the curriculum at UCT. While having to negotiate identities so as to fit into a new environment, students also have to adjust to the learning process, which might be different from the one at school. Adjusting to a learning situation necessitates an awareness of the resources that are available in that site of learning. This process of adjusting to and engaging with a particular learning situation brings up wider issues around access. Access to what and for whom? In an attempt to answer this question I will contextualize the problem by first relating it to South Africa then to UCT, where I will focus on a specific site of learning.

I begin by illustrating aspects of the access problem from my own experience. Access is an issue for me as a second language speaker working in a site where the unequal access to resources, brought about by language differences, is evident. My work at the Writing Centre has made me more aware of the issues that students who have English as an additional language (¹EAL) struggle with when it comes to essay writing. Students in the Humanities are expected to critically analyze texts. Doing a critical analysis may be quite overwhelming for most “non-mainstream”² students as was revealed in a consultation that I had with a Venda speaking student who brought in a marked essay. The student had a very low mark because he had failed to

¹ I use EAL as opposed to ESL in the acknowledgement that some students may have only one primary language but a number of additional languages.

² I use this term to refer to African students who have one or more of the indigenous languages as their primary languages and who are often not from a middle class background.

analyze a documentary photograph in the way that was expected in the *Text in Contexts* course. After questioning the student about the process of writing about the photograph, it became clear that the student had never had to analyze a documentary photograph before. The student did not possess the kind of cultural capital (background knowledge) needed to analyze the text. In order to analyze the text effectively he would have had to have been exposed to documentary photographs and how they work. This knowledge would then have formed part of his cultural capital. However, he was unfamiliar with the genre and did not know the literacy practices that have to be applied when analyzing a documentary photograph. What made the consultation more frustrating for him was the fact that he had difficulties writing in English (one of the reasons why he had scored a low mark). Working at the Writing Centre has made me aware of the different forms of cultural capital that students possess, resources which they are not always in a position to use when working with texts

1.1 The access problem

Access becomes an issue in a country like South Africa that is characterised by different class and racial groups having unequal access to resources that the country has to offer, such as housing and education. One's social position influences the access that one has to these resources. One other factor that influences an individual's access to resources is the language that she or he speaks. English is the dominant language in most educational institutions so the more proficient one is in English the greater his/her chances are in having access to resources in education. South Africa's transition in 1994 from an autocratic top down form of government to a democratic one brought with it significant socio-political changes; changes which addressed the issue of access to resources. One of these changes addressed the language medium issue in the country. South Africa's official language status changed from that of English and Afrikaans to a language policy that was inclusive of all the languages spoken by the indigenous people of South Africa, resulting in a national policy with eleven official languages. This language policy has implications for educational institutions in that all students have, in theory, the right to access their primary languages in the learning process. Vesely (2000) makes reference to the Bill of Rights in the Constitution which states, "Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable" (12). This implies that

educational institutions in South Africa have to acknowledge the importance of African students having access to their languages for learning.

The University of Cape Town is a historically white English-speaking university with a growing population of black students. There has been a 7% increase in the number of black postgraduate students between June 1997 and June 2000. (Development Group Statistics, UCT 2001). The concept of access is critical in an institution like UCT that is adjusting to national and socio-political changes. The question “access for whom, to what and how?” is important as it forces one to look more closely at what is valued in the institution, who has access to that which is valued and what exactly it is that allows them to have access. This research explores issues not just around technical access as in admission to UCT but “meaningful access” to resources (Heugh 1991:45). For purposes of this research meaningful access to resources translates into students having the ability to utilize educational resources and being in a position to engage productively with the literacy practices of the institution rather than just being exposed to resources without having the necessary knowledge and skills to utilize them. To explore the problem of access I locate this research in a site where access issues are significant in that first year students’ success is largely determined by their success in acquiring the literacy practices at UCT.

The site that I focus on is a foundation course in the Humanities called *Texts in Context* which is compulsory for all first year students in the Humanities. The foundation course is an appropriate site for this research because it is where first year students are introduced to the culture of the institution through texts. The course aims to provide a common experience for all first year students, regardless of educational background or matric results. It aims at fostering a critical citizenship in students, the emphasis being on the value of diversity. The course is comprised of a suite of credit-bearing semester long foundation courses, one of which is DOH 101F- *Texts in Context* and the one that I focus on in this research. This course requires students to, among other things, “comment on or analyze in detail, a small range of key text types, and also to produce some texts within that range (with the emphasis on academic writing)”. (course reader:2000:ii). The genres used in the course include literature, film and visual texts such as documentary photographs, newspapers, academic writing, praise poetry and historical documents. The course aims to achieve specific outcomes. It aims to equip students with textual analysis skills that they can transfer to a variety of texts. The course also has specific facts

that students are expected to learn about representation; “that all texts are produced for a particular purpose and that the way in which texts are produced and interpreted is affected by the context in which they occur...” (course reader 2000: ii). The skills that this course seeks to develop are analytical, reading and writing skills.

The transition from school to the university is a challenging one for students in textually oriented disciplines. All students, regardless of educational background, are likely to experience difficulties with the process of learning how texts work at university. However, the group that may be most likely to experience more difficulties is students who have English as their second language who are from an ex-DET³ educational background that has a different culture to that of UCT, namely, the African second language speaker.

To address the problem of access, one has to look at the resources that can be explored in order to facilitate students' access to resources. Since the success of students in the course is determined by their ability to work with texts, the types of texts that are used become important in exploring issues around facilitating access for EAL students. EAL students might not necessarily have the cultural capital (background knowledge) needed to engage with the types of texts used in the course. Students who have English as an additional language are then potentially faced with a problem. They have to critically analyze texts using English as a medium while simultaneously having to familiarize themselves with genres that may be culturally unfamiliar. Having to engage with these genres in a second language could place EAL students at a considerable disadvantage, as they may not have the same level of access to the curriculum as the first language speakers. This disadvantage applies to mainstream courses as well. The *Texts in Context* curriculum aims to develop students' textual analysis skills but this seems to be a rather futile exercise if the students feel threatened by the texts that they have to deal with. The fact that the language used is not their primary language may serve to intensify the problem.

In light of the above problem, language and genre then become critical resources in exploring issues around relocating cultural capital in the TIC course. The research uses language and the genre of the praise poem in a case study to explore the extent to which one can relocate cultural capital as a means to facilitate fair and

³ This term is used to refer to schools listed as falling under the Department of Education and Training in the apartheid government, and were deliberately under-resourced.

equal access to the curriculum. Praise poetry is also used in the course to foster in first language speakers an awareness of specialist genres like praise poetry. I assume that the cultural capital of African students may include knowledge of oral genres, hence the decision to use praise poetry. The extent of students' familiarity with praise poetry will be probed. This research does refer to other genres used in the course, such as the academic essay, but it specifically focuses on praise poetry. The nature of the problems experienced by EAL students at the Writing Centre also serves to emphasize the importance of language and genre in foundation courses such as TIC and why the potential of these two resources in relocating cultural capital needs to be explored.

Multilingualism is an important term in exploring how language may be used in relocating cultural capital. Since the revaluation of the indigenous languages in 1997 there have been discussions around the language of learning to be used in multilingual settings. Multilingualism is central to this research as it focuses on the potential role of indigenous languages in the learning process. Multilingualism also forms an important part of South Africa's Constitution, which has as one of its aims the elevation of the status of African languages. I hope to avoid the dead ends that these debates inevitably end up at. Rather than exploring issues around using the African languages as medium of instruction, I look into practical ways of using the African languages as points of entry into the course curriculum so that EAL students are able to draw on their languages in the learning process. I encourage students to make use of their primary languages in the research process, in answering questionnaires and in the interviews.

The purpose of this study is to explore EAL students' attitudes towards their primary languages and other resources specifically the genre of praise poetry in an attempt to make the TIC curriculum more accessible. Students' responses to questions centered on language attitudes are used to explore the difficulties that students experience when working with different genres. Students' responses concerning language attitudes could assist in devising strategies of effectively utilizing indigenous languages in the learning process so as to facilitate meaningful access to the curriculum.

One of the aims of this research is to find out whether EAL students would choose to write an essay on praise poetry in their primary languages and why they would choose to do so. Their responses are valuable as they could give an indication of

students' language attitudes and their attitudes towards the genre of praise poetry. These responses could be used to address issues around genre familiarity in the curriculum. In an attempt to address the problem of unequal access this research asks the following question, which is the main question of the research:

“Can students’ attitudes to language and genre be used in relocating cultural capital in the curriculum”?

The above question can be answered by asking the following questions:

- If given the choice, would EAL students prefer to write essays in primary languages?
- What are students’ attitudes to the use of the genre of the praise poem in the curriculum?
- What text types would students like to see being used more in the course?
- What are the curriculum implications of giving students the option of writing in their primary languages and including praise poetry for assessment purposes?

By answering these questions I hope to address issues around participation, issues that the opening quote raises, so that meaningful access to resources becomes the norm rather than the exception. In the following chapter I shall explore the theoretical framework that informs this research, specifically Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital and the New Literacy Studies.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter I start off by presenting the main orientations that form the theoretical basis of my argument, namely Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and the New Literacy Studies. I then focus in on language and genre to explore how they work within these two orientations. The section on language deals with multilingualism, language attitudes, language and power. The section on genre looks at the role that the praise poem can play in the recycling of cultural capital, the praise poem being discussed in light of it being a genre that can potentially be tapped into in the revaluing of students' other literacies. It also looks at how the academic essay, as a genre that students have to produce in, becomes a genre of power as students' success depends on their mastery of the 'ground rules' of the essay.

The concept of cultural capital is at the center of this research as the research seeks to find out how the course curriculum could accommodate diverse students' cultural capital so as to facilitate access. It is important therefore to relate Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital to a site where a diverse body of first year students struggle to be active participants in the curriculum, which could potentially be achieved if the site allows for the conversion of students' cultural capital (what they bring) into symbolic capital (what is valued by the institution). I will define these two terms in the next section.

2.1. Bourdieu's theory of Cultural Capital

I have chosen to use Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital as a central theory in this research because it gives an explanation of how society reproduces the dominant genres and how this process can be interrupted. Bourdieu's theory differs from other theories in the literacy field in that it addresses the issue of diversity through an analysis of how the conversion of one's cultural capital into symbolic capital is determined by one's position within the relations of power and knowledge in a social field (Bourdieu 1990:231). His theory is central to this research because it looks at power not just in terms of one's failure or success in attaining symbolic capital but in directly looking at power "in terms of the kinds of capital available and

realised, by human subjects as they engage in productive work in distinct cultural fields” (Luke 1996:326). A person who is likely to succeed in converting his or her cultural capital into symbolic capital is the one whose cultural capital is validated and acknowledged by the field that the person is a participant in.

Bourdieu’s theory identifies four different forms of capital that an individual may or may not possess and the relationship between these different capitals in the fields within which they are located. *Cultural* capital refers to the embodied competence, knowledge and skills that are necessary for the process of mastering and writing about different genres (Bourdieu, 1991), for instance the knowledge that an EAL student has about praise poetry would be seen as forming part of his/her cultural capital. These knowledges and skills are internalised by the bodily ‘habitus’ in the individual’s socialisation and educational processes. Bourdieu (1991) uses the term ‘habitus’ to refer to “a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways” (12). These dispositions are acquired in the process of early socialisation, where the values and practices which form part of the immediate environment of the individual are adopted by the body and “become second nature” (12). They reflect the social background of the individual, differing from one individual to the next. *Social* capital refers to the access that one has to cultural groups such as institutions of learning that are prominent in his or her society.

Economic capital can be seen as the material goods and resources, which can be translated into money, that one possesses by virtue of having successfully managed to convert his or her cultural capital into *symbolic* capital (Bourdieu, 1991), which refers to what is valued by the institution and indeed seen as being worthy of acquiring. An example of economic capital being converted into symbolic capital is a typical EAL student from an academically disadvantaged background who enrolls at UCT. The cultural capital that he/she possesses is different to the kind of cultural capital that is validated at UC T. The kinds of texts that he/she is expected to work with are different from the ones he/she has been exposed to in his/her schooling. The implication of this is that the student cannot be a competent participant in the competition for resources unless he/she acquires the cultural capital valued at UCT and is able to work successfully with and make use of the resources that the course offers for ‘success’.

The term ‘fields’ refers to the artistic or scientific sites, such as the educational and technical fields, where individuals participate in the utilisation of the cultural capital

that they bring with them so as to have access to resources of that particular field. The relationship between field and habitus is an important one for this research as it brings up issues around the kind of capital that is valued in a particular field. Participants do not enter fields with the same habitus formation, meaning that they will not have the same access to the resources that the field has to offer. In the field of education one kind of capital is valued more than other kinds, meaning that students who do not possess the kind of habitus that is valued will be disadvantaged. Those students whose habitus most resembles the structural dispositions and values of the institution are the ones who will have better chances of gaining access to resources. In the context of UCT this kind of valuing would translate into the institution valuing the habitus (or knowledge and skills) of students from a type of class and educational background whose habitus is similar to the one valued at UCT.

Language and genre are important elements in the theory of cultural capital as their validation largely decides whether individuals are successful or not in the attainment of symbolic capital. The language of learning (English) in academia is usually that of mainstream students. This language is used to write about genres that mainstream students are familiar with by virtue of their social backgrounds. Mainstream students usually come from print-rich backgrounds where they are exposed to the dominant genres used in the academic institution. The conversion of cultural capital into symbolic capital requires the field in which the individual is a participant to acknowledge the students' languages, acknowledging them by facilitating their use in the process of writing about familiar genres. Familiar genres are those genres that enable individuals to make use of their cultural capital in analysis.

There are particular texts that can be said to represent hegemonic social groups where categories of race, class, language or gender are used as criteria of exclusion. The curriculum then becomes active in creating inequalities "by reflecting the actual division of the social order into dominant and dominated social groups" (Guillory, 1993:19). The texts that are most commonly used in institutions represent the ideals of Western civilizations and these ideals and values constitute a "culture". "The classical canon lives on through the 'great books' of Western literature, the 'great men' of history and the religiosity of the Christian tradition" (Cope and Kalantzis 1993:42). Canonical texts are those that are seen as being worthy of being transmitted from one generation to the next. Where these texts are used in curricula, they are used with the assumption that the readers are familiar with the language used and their content.

Students who come from a background where they were not exposed to the type of texts that form part of their curriculum in the university may not be familiar with the literacy practices and processes that go hand in hand with analyzing these particular texts. There may then be no continuity between the school and university textual practices. Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital states that one of the most important properties of fields is the way in which they allow one form of capital to be converted into another (Bourdieu 1994:14). Previously disadvantaged students may then not be in a position of having their cultural capital converted into symbolic capital because their habitus is not valued in the institution. Bourdieu (1990) also states that the conversion of capital is directly influenced by one's position within relations of power and knowledge. EAL students' cultural capital may not be validated by the curriculum because of the types of texts that they have to analyze and the language that they have to use in the process of analysis. These students are then faced with texts that may be unfamiliar and they have to critically analyze them using an additional language.

Students' success in the university depends, to a certain extent on whether they manage to acquire the literacy practices that inform academic life. "Literacy education has been and remains a battleground for a politics of representation: in a community and school pedagogies, a corpus of practices and differing literate subjectivities are shaped and transmitted, acquired and contested. Divergent approaches to literacy have been used by particular groups to make claims to shape what will count as literacy, who will be given access to particular texts, practices and indeed 'literacies' " (Luke, 1996: 309). Luke's words bring up the important issue of literacy in the institution. To address this, I have chosen the New Literacy Studies as a theory that adds to Bourdieu's theory by focusing on literacy in context.

2.2. New Literacy Studies

The New Literacy Studies approach is useful in my research because it explores access more closely, offering an alternative way of looking at the contested meaning around literacy, where different meanings are attached to the term 'literacy'. It presents my research with a good starting point i.e, how can the institution, or more importantly, the curriculum facilitate access of students whose literacy practices are different to those of the institution? The New Literacy Studies is an important approach in that, through the view it takes on literacy, it helps to deal with the

those of the institution? The New Literacy Studies is an important theory in that, through the view it takes on literacy, it helps to deal with the challenges that EAL students are likely to experience in the process of acquiring academic literacy, challenges that might come about as a result of their having a different cultural capital from the one valued in the institution.

The attempt to explain how literacy is perceived in certain contexts has resulted in a more contemporary approach to issues around literacy, namely the New Literacy Studies, which offers an alternative model to the old “autonomous” model of literacy, namely the “ideological” model. Brian Street (1995) who refers to the old model as the ‘autonomous’ model contrasts it with the ideological model to show exactly how they differ in their view of literacy. The autonomous model views literacy as the ability to read and write and it has a decontextualised view of literacy. It assumes that literacy can be carried across contexts, rather than recognising literacy in terms of the knowledge that individuals possess as a result of their educational and cultural backgrounds. The ideological model of the New Literacy Studies is compatible with Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital in that it does not view literacy as a singular thing but as a plural set of social practices, as literacies. The model views literacy as being made up of multiple literacies. The institution as a site becomes the place where the multiple literacies of the students intersect. The multiple literacies that the student brings are seen as being embedded in the social practices that make up the particular community that the student is from. Gee (1996) states, in an attempt to clearly depict the importance of social factors in the ideological model of literacy, “Literacy-of whatever type –only has consequences as it acts together with a large number of other social factors, including political and economic conditions, social structure and local ideologies” (58). Gee’s statement is what largely typifies the ideological approach as it sees literacy as being a set of social and cultural practices. The different literacies that individuals bring with them means that the literacy resources used in the institution mean different things to each individual depending on their prior literacies and particular contexts. Street (1995) contrasts the two models to show how a traditional view of literacy imposes its values on individuals at the expense of their other literacies. He sees the ideological model as being essential in that, “It requires us all to place our own opinions in a broader context, to recognise that what seems self-evident and common sense to us may appear more than partial, indeed bigoted, to others” (17). Street shows how society takes for granted that the literacy practices valued in a particular field are valued by everybody, rather than acknowledging that people possess other literacies which are

valued in their respective communities. He rejects the view that effective literacy teaching requires the child to reject their home literacy practices, or their primary discourses in favour of schooled literacy which takes the form of what the New Literacy Studies terms a “secondary discourse”. I will explore this term in the following section.

2.2.1. Primary and secondary discourses

A socially useful definition of literacy should take into account the distinction between primary and secondary discourses made by Gee (ibid.). He defines primary discourses as being, “those Discourses to which people are apprenticed early in life during their primary socialization as members of particular families within their sociocultural settings” (137). A primary discourse is acquired; the child is subconsciously socialised into this discourse through being exposed to it and it plays a major role in the child’s identity construction. Secondary discourses are, “those to which people are apprenticed as part of their socializations within various local, state and national groups and institutions outside early home and peer-group socialization- for example, churches and schools (137). A secondary discourse is not typically acquired but learnt, it involves “attaining some degree of meta-knowledge about the matter being taught” (138). Gee likens a discourse to an “identity kit” in that it influences the way individuals act, talk and write so as to be recognised by other members belonging to that particular discourse. He maintains that some discourses are socially dominant in that they carry with them social power and access to economic success, while others are non-dominant because they are not related or similar to the dominant discourses valued in institutions of higher learning. Facilitating access requires that students’ primary discourses are acknowledged and validated in institutions of higher learning.

Kress’ (1989) definition of a Discourse is similar to Gee’s in that he (Kress) also sees discourses as influencing the way people behave in certain environments. Kress (1989) defines a discourse thus: “A discourse provides a set of possible statements about a given area and organizes and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about” (4). This means that the way people perceive the same phenomenon will be different, depending on their exposure to discourses. These discourses (academic and home-based discourse) can clash when the student enters the university. If the primary discourse of the student is similar to the academic discourse, continuity is established between the two

discourses and the student has a head start in the 'race' for the attainment of academic literacy. Students whose primary discourses do not conform to the secondary discourses in the institution are at a disadvantage because the fields in which they are participants do not validate their cultural capital. The field that the student is in can, in theory, validate the cultural capital of the student by acknowledging his or her primary discourse through the use of genres that are linked to the student's primary discourse. The sections that follow will explore how language and genre can be used in relocating EAL students' cultural capital.

2.3. The role of language in relocating cultural capital

Language plays an important part in the attainment of symbolic capital. Having the language of learning as a primary language means that one's route to accessing symbolic and economic capital is potentially less complicated. Most students are multilingual but they are monolingual in terms of UCT's language policy where English is used as the medium of instruction. These students are potentially faced with difficulties, as they have to use a language that they may not be proficient in. I will look at the potential role of multilingualism in addressing issues around language and access to resources.

2.3.1. Multilingualism

Multilingualism is of great significance for this research which addresses issues around the language attitudes of a group of multilingual first year students and whether their multilingual statuses could be used to facilitate their access to the curriculum. This research is exploratory in that it explores how their languages could be used as points of entry into the curriculum. Facilitating access for these students would mean that they then could be in a better position to work comfortably with the different genres that form part of the course. This would mean that the curriculum could be in a position to validate the cultural capital that these students bring with them to the course through the revaluing of EAL students' primary languages.

In a multilingual setting where there are students who are fluent in more than one language, and where the language of learning is not the first language of these students, the term *meaningful* access is an important one. Heugh (1995) distinguishes between *access* to education and *meaningful* access to education. She argues that, "Access to education may only mean physical access to the

classroom. Meaningful access implies that the pupil must be able to engage successfully with education" (45). The concept of multilingualism is important when it comes to exploring how meaningful access can be facilitated in the learning process through language.

There are a number of questions around multilingualism - what are its advantages and disadvantages in academic institutions, at institutions of higher learning and how does it help to facilitate access to the resources of literacy like texts used in the course, especially for EAL students?

The policy changes at national level also had an impact on the language-in-education policies of institutions in South Africa. Language-in-education policies that are embraced by any nation usually reflect the socio-political changes taking place in the nation. The NEPI report (National Education Policy Investigation 1992:13) cites Cooper (1989) as stating that education is the primary means of social control and a means for social mobility. It is therefore not surprising that the language used for learning should be an important political issue. For South Africa this meant that the new language-in-education policy would aim to implement the principle of multilingualism in specific academic environments of learning so that students would have equal access to educational resources, regardless of their primary languages.

Institutions in South Africa have, through the new language-in-education policy, been made aware of the importance of multilingual education, thereby encouraging these institutions to accommodate African languages in their institutional language policies. The University of Cape Town currently makes use of English as the language of learning. The language policy document of the institution states that the institution has two propositions, "...first, that language policy must promote multi-lingualism; second, that language policy must ensure that entering students in higher education have a strong oral and written command of English..." (UCT Language Policy 2000:2). The policy of multilingualism is acknowledged by the institution but English is still very much seen as the language of learning.

How, then, can an environment that is supportive of multilingualism be achieved without undermining the role of English, which is valued by the institution and acts as a gate keeper, providing and limiting access to academic discourses and to relevant curricula for those who are not fluent in the language?

There is a substantial body of literature that emphasizes the positive aspects of raising an awareness of multilingualism in the academic institution. For example, Heugh (1995) stresses the importance of additive bilingual education and Macdonald and Burrough's (1991) Threshold Project emphasizes the importance of "a good grounding in the child's own language" at primary level which then allows effective learning of a second language. However, there are theorists who warn about "uncritically hailing and entrenching linguistic diversity as that very act could lock people into disadvantage" (Cope & Kalantzis 1993:12). Cope and Kalantzis are trying to show how a one sided approach in dealing with multilingualism, where diversity is celebrated just for the sake of doing so, can serve to disadvantage students who speak minority languages. The importance of English should not be overlooked in the process of promoting the use of minority languages as this may serve to disadvantage minority students who are required by institutional practices to be competent in English in order for them to have access to academic literacy. Kapp (2000) states that individual attitudes towards English are, to a large extent, influenced by the power relations around them. EAL students are aware of the disadvantage that using the indigenous languages could place them in, therefore, the languages that they prefer to use in different contexts of academic life is influenced by "multiple desires" (Peirce, 1995). These students, while stressing the need to speak their languages, which they perceive as being important in maintaining their African identities, are drawn to English because of its power in society.

2.3.2. Language and power

The power enjoyed by English in academia results in students being ambivalent towards the English language and their primary languages. This ambivalence necessitates a discussion of the power yielded by the different languages in South Africa and the implications of this for UCT. Phillipson (1992) states; "The pull of English is remarkably strong in periphery-English countries, not only among the elites who benefit directly from their proficiency in English but also among the masses, who appreciate that the language provides access to power and resources" (27). In South Africa, which is an ESL country (English is not the native language but it is used widely as a medium of communication in government and education) "success or failure in English at school may be decisive for educational and career prospects" (Phillipson 1992:27). English is widely valued at UCT, both as a language of learning and an indicator of the class and educational background that one is from. Identity is shaped or reinforced by language because the way one speaks English

places one in a certain category (product of private schooling, Model C or ex-DET schooling). In light of this categorization it becomes obvious as to why English yields the power that it does, resulting in EAL students having ambivalent language attitudes.

Attention to language attitudes is a significant activity in multilingual societies where linguistic groups find themselves caught between two needs. The first need is that of preserving the cultural heritage embodied in the primary language and the second is the need for economic advancement which is mainly possible through the dominant language or international language (Heugh 1987).

This research aims to find out the attitudes that students have towards their primary languages. Students in an environment like UCT, which uses English as the medium of instruction, could be influenced by the values attached to English, resulting in a possible change in the attitudes that they previously had towards English and their primary languages before enrolling at UCT. It is therefore important to firstly consider reasons why multilingual students choose certain languages over others in certain contexts and what the positions of their primary languages are. Vesely (2000) offers an explanation as to why EAL students seemingly choose English over African languages such as Xhosa. She states, "The public environment that excludes Xhosa is the one these students will encounter on a daily basis upon matriculation, but even currently it affects every aspect of their lives. Students indicate that in their home and school environments, Xhosa is predominantly spoken yet the hegemony of English in the environment outside only leads students to value English more" (10). It is this hegemony of English that impacts on students' attitudes towards their primary languages. The hegemony of English is further reinforced at UCT, impacting on students' language attitudes in this context of learning, the result being that students tend to value English over their primary languages.

2.4 Genre

This section explores the characteristics of the praise poem genre and the academic essay. The Texts in Context course familiarizes students with textual analysis as they will have to produce this genre of essay in the textually oriented disciplines in the faculty of Humanities. The course requires students to perform textual analyses on a range of genres, where they have to critically analyze these genres applying concepts that are specifically used in the critical analysis approach.

The genre that is focussed on in this research is the praise poem. The definition of genre, for purposes of this research, concerns text types. Cope and Kalantzis (1993) define genre as, "conventional structures which have come to be accepted as pragmatic schemes for making certain types of meaning and to achieve distinctive social goals, in specific settings, by particular linguistic means" (67). Genre is a term used in literacy pedagogy to connect the different forms texts take with variations in social purpose. For example, the text can be a documentary photograph, an academic essay, poem, graffiti, autobiography, a scientific report, biography or questionnaires. Each genre is linked to specific social and cultural functions in society, resulting in some genres being perceived as genres of power. Theorists such as Cope and Kalantzis (1993) hold the view that in order to benefit economically in society, one has to know the academic and social conventions that go hand in hand with these genres of power. This view, however, is contested by theorists like Luke (1996), who states,

"The history of literacy education is about power and knowledge. But it is about power not solely in terms of which texts and practices will 'count' and which groups will have or not have access to which texts and practices. It is also about who in the modern state will have a privileged position in specifying what will count as literacy" (309).

There are some cultural groups where specific genres, which may not necessarily include the so-called 'genres of power', are valued and serve to ensure mobility in that particular society. An example is some African societies where oral genres like praise poetry are valued. Bakhtin (1986) states that the whole study of genre fails to take into account the importance of speech genres. He states that speech genres have specific functions in society and individuals have to know how these speech genres operate in order to participate in society. Different societies therefore have "differing understandings of where and how power resides" (Luke 1996:321).

In the university there are genres that do indeed 'count' for academic achievement and knowing the workings of these genres serves to advantage one academically. The curriculum has the potential to play an important role in the acknowledgment of diverse students' genres and which genres are valued in their respective societies. Luke (1996) states,

"A curriculum based on the principle of 'survival of the most functional' that fails to ask: Functional for what? For whom? and 'In whose

interests?’ may lead to the reproduction of text types and practices whose selection and valorisation serves ideological or disciplinary functions within school culture, rather than any rational purpose within a scientific or cultural field” (335).

In order to avoid reproducing texts that serve the interests of only “mainstream” students, the TIC course includes praise poetry in the interests of EAL students as the genre is one that these students could be familiar with and one that potentially allows them to make use of their cultural capital effectively. It also widens the exposure of “mainstream” students to other genres.

2.4.1. Praise poetry

Praise poetry has been chosen as a focal area in this research because the research addresses issues around the conversion of cultural capital to symbolic capital through the use of specific genres that students are comfortable with. Praise poetry is an oral narrative that is performed by praise poets at ceremonies such as weddings. The course uses praise poetry to draw on EAL students’ knowledge of the genre in an attempt to design a curriculum that has more social justice in the utilization of EAL students cultural capital.

Gee’s (1996) distinction between primary and secondary discourses is of importance in the analysis of the praise poem genre. Gough (2000) extends Gee’s definitions of primary and secondary discourses and defines primary discourse as “everyday conversational interaction and demands no degree of specialized knowledge or language to participate in”. A secondary discourse, on the other hand, is a specialist discourse – it requires one to have a degree of expert knowledge to produce and comprehend it. Gough argues that secondary discourses are cultural universals in that every culture functions with both primary and secondary discourses. Praise poetry is a secondary discourse, in that a person cannot be an active participant if he or she lacks the required degree of specialization in the discourse. Gough argues that curricula should validate these secondary discourses and that this could give EAL students an advantage. EAL students could, by virtue of their cultural backgrounds, have been exposed to the genre, hence the specific use of praise poetry in the exploration of how genre can be used to address issues around effective utilization of EAL students’ cultural capital.

An analysis of this genre would require the student to be familiar with the workings of the praise poem. The prominence and status of this oral genre in the African society links back to Luke's (1996) argument concerning genres of power, where he states that different societies use different criteria in identifying powers of genres in their societies. Praise poetry could be seen as being 'insider poetry' (Kuse 1973:86), it is designed for people who know what is being talked about. EAL students who are familiar with the genre would be in a position to know what the intended effect of a particular expression is meant to be. They can utilise the background knowledge that they have on the genre, making use of their primary languages in the process of analysis. The cultural capital that these EAL students bring with them would have a much better chance of being validated through the use of a culturally familiar genre.

2.4.2. The academic essay

Students doing the TIC course are expected to know the social purposes of different genres and the structure and form that is characteristic of each genre. The academic essay is of importance in this research in that it is the genre in which TIC students have to produce a textual analysis in; an approach used throughout the course. "The deep rules of the culture shape the entire process of student writing" (Ballard & Clanchy 1988:08). This means that students whose home discourses are similar to standard English have a better chance of knowing what goes into producing a 'good' piece of writing.

As the genre of the academic essay reflects whether the student has succeeded in acquiring the literacy practices of the course, it becomes an important genre in exploring issues around literacy in the TIC course. Some genres are characteristic of having fixed structures while other genres tend to be more flexible in terms of structure. The academic essay, as a genre, does not necessarily conform to a particular structure, but may be hybrid. Bhatia (1993) states that various genres display certain constraints in terms of their positioning and form but one can use linguistic resources in a way that does not completely conform to the standard way. It is difficult to teach and understand the form that an essay written using the textual analysis approach should take. This lack of specific rules concerning the structure of the essay intensifies its status as a genre of power as it is so hard to define.

The extensive work done by literacy theorists such as Ballard & Clanchy (1988) and Gee, when related to a South African context, throws some light on why EAL

students struggle at university. The reason is that the university has a different culture that is “deeply embedded in its sets of literacy (speaking, reading and writing) practices” (Kapp in Angeli-Carter, 1998:26). Ferdman et al (1994) argue that, “literacy is not simply learning how to read and write but applying this knowledge for specific purposes in specific contexts of use” (25). This entails knowing what form of language to use and in what setting to use it in. A textual analysis requires that students know the discourse that is necessary for the analysis of each genre. The specialized literacy practices that students are required to know are seldom explained clearly and students who are not native speakers of English “tend to miss the often subtle linguistic cues which are indicative of the culture of a discipline” (Angeli-Carter, 1998:28). Students are often poorly taught how to structure academic essays or how critical arguments are formed, which contributes to the complexity and power of this genre.

This chapter has attempted to show how the conversion of one’s cultural capital in a given field is influenced by the socio-cultural background of the individual, and the role that language and genre can play in facilitating access to the curriculum. Bourdieu and Gee’s theories emphasise the importance of the literacies that students bring with them as part of their cultural capital, stating that the re-valuing of these literacies is crucial in the relocating of cultural capital. I have explored language and genre as potential focal areas for this re-valuing. In the next chapter I shall discuss the approaches and methods that I make use of in the data collection process and in the analysis of data.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I give an account of the methodology and methods that I make use of in the data collection process and why I have chosen to make use of these particular approaches. I also discuss issues around the validity and generalizability of my research.

Attempts to describe and explain the complex and interacting factors involved in the social aspects of language use have paralleled important changes in research methodology (Johnson 1992), changes that allow researchers to examine these complex interactions more adequately. The shift in research methodology from a positivist approach to a methodology that effectively accounts for the social context of individuals has resulted in a wider acknowledgement and use of the interpretivist paradigm, especially in second language (L2) research (Fetterman, 1991; Johnson, 1992; Vulliamy *et al*, 1990). Paradigms, a term coined by Thomas Kuhn in 1962, refers to the frameworks that determine the concepts that are to be used, the model inquiries that will successfully direct attention toward the problems that are being researched and away from other problems or issues regarded as somewhat trivial (Eisner & Peshkin 1990). My research makes use of the interpretivist paradigm, which has become popular in L2 research because of its accounting for, and stressing of the role of social factors in individuals' attitudes towards, and use of, a second language.

The traditional positivist paradigm, which has dominated research, makes use of an approach that is largely quantitative. Quantitative methods emphasize the systematic measurement and quantification of variables, using statistical analysis and mathematical models to explain data. Quantitative research is often criticized because "it reduces factors to numbers and does not attend to potentially important and interesting contextual information" (Johnson 1992:34).

The interpretivist paradigm has emerged as a response to critiques of the positivist paradigm. Guba and Lincoln (1985) contrast the conventional paradigm (positivist) with the interpretivist paradigm. Auguste Comte is a key figure associated with the positivist paradigm. The interpretivist paradigm is derived from the Humanities and is

associated with Edmund Husserl who had a major influence in developing this paradigm. The interpretivist approach is used in studies that are primarily qualitative in orientation. This paradigm has as its goal the thorough explanation, analysis and interpretation of data, hence its name. Interpretivist research is characterised by “descriptions of, explanations for, or meanings given to phenomena by both the researcher and the study participants rather than by the definitions and the interpretations of the researcher alone” (LeCompte & Preissle 1993:31). The study participants’ interpretations of phenomena are highly valued in this type of research.

This research explores issues around language and genre and is firmly entrenched in a cultural, and wider context, that of an existing curriculum and students’ attitudes and responses, hence the use of the qualitative approach. The nature of the research questions, which attempt to understand and describe the relationships at work within a particular cultural context lends itself more to a qualitative type of research. Van Maanen (1983) states:

Education is a cultural process. Each new member must learn to act appropriately as a member. It (education) is also an instrument for adaptation and change. To understand education we must study it as it is – embedded in the culture of which it is an integral part and which it serves (26).

A qualitative approach allows for an analysis of data where the intricate details of the relationship between factors in a specific cultural context are discussed, details that a quantitative approach would fail to convey. This research is not positivist in nature, it does not set out to prove or disprove a hypothesis. Instead, the research seeks to explore the context as it exists, attempting to explain the relationship between certain variables and how the participants involved in the research perceive this relationship.

3.1. The relevance of the case study approach to the research

I use the case study approach for purposes of this research in that I focus on inquiry around an instance, which is the Texts in Context course, with specific focus on language choice and the genre of praise poetry. A case study is an investigation of a system that emphasizes the “unity and wholeness” (Johnson 1992) of the system in question but confines the attention to an aspect that is relevant to the research problem. The individual or entity is being studied in its natural context or

environment, and the research is limited to a particular place and time. Bell (1987) writes:

The great strength of the case-study method is that it allows the researcher to concentrate on a specific instance or situation and to identify, or attempt to identify, the various interactive processes at work. The researcher identifies an 'instance' which could be the introduction of a new syllabus, the way a school adapts to a new role, or any innovation or stage of development in an institution and observes, questions, studies" (8).

One of the goals of the qualitative case study is to permit detailed examination of the processes in an educational organization (Johnson, 1992; Van Maanen, 1983;). A close study of one case or instance allows the researcher to find answers to different types of questions, thereby providing rich information about that particular case. In this research, use of the case study method allows for an in depth analysis of the language attitudes of a specific group of students and how these attitudes impact on the genres that the students have to work with in the course.

The qualitative case study is motivated by research questions that arise out of a need to find out more about a particular instance; there are "knowledge gaps" (to use Johnson's terminology) that prompt the researcher to embark on the research. Johnson states that case study research questions may lead to description or to better theory. The nature of the research questions that my research asks leans towards both description and possibly to better theory about the possibilities of multilingualism and genre in L2 (second language) settings. The questions are likely to produce answers that provide a clearer picture of the state of things, by answering the main research question: Can students' attitudes to language and genre be used in relocating cultural capital in the curriculum?

Students' attitudes towards their primary languages and towards the genres used in the course are explored by asking the sub-questions. The last question directly addresses the practical outcomes of the research, namely, the implications of the findings on the curriculum policy of the course. The students' language attitudes are explored by directly asking them which language they would choose to write in (English or primary language), if they were to be given a choice, in writing about the different genres that they work with in the course. This choice is currently a hypothetical one since English is the medium of instruction. In order for these

research questions to be effectively answered, a thorough *description* of how the students arrive at the answers that they give and an exploration of the “multiple identities that students negotiate” (Kapp 2000) is necessary. The description is arrived at through seeking patterns in the data. The negotiating of “multiple identities” would be evident especially in the first question, where I attempt to describe the influence of socio-political factors and other contextual factors that contribute to shaping the students’ preferences. Giving a detailed *interpretation* of the students’ responses is central to the research, as it is through interpreting these responses that the research questions are answered. My handling of the data is indicative of the essence of a qualitative case study, which is to “discover systematic connections among experiences, behaviors, attitudes and relevant features of the context” (Johnson 1992:84).

3.1.2. Researching language attitudes

An attitude is a positive or negative feeling or affect associated with a specific psychological object. It is an evaluative or affective response. Attitudes are made up of two components: belief, which refers to the “cognitive basis” (Giles & Ryan, 1982) for the evaluation, and behaviour, which is an observable reflection of the evaluation. An individual’s attitude towards an object or phenomenon directly influences the way the person understands and interprets that object or phenomenon.

Getting an idea of the attitudes of students towards their primary languages and English is useful in exploring how the primary languages of EAL students can be used to facilitate access to the curriculum and for this I draw on language attitude studies. The reason for this choice is because of the nature of this research, which requires one to consider social factors in the explanation of relationships. I feel that drawing on language attitude studies enables one to explore the social context of individuals and groups. As Giles (1982) writes, “To fully understand how language attitudes develop, it may be necessary to reach back into the past and investigate the social and political forces operating within the history of a nation” (164). I explore this by considering how the re-valuing of the African languages in the Constitution could influence the language choices that students make. The role of historical forces in the shaping of language attitudes demonstrates the importance of the consideration of the social context in exploring attitudes, attitudes which, in turn, influence perceptions.

One of the disadvantages of conducting attitude surveys is that attitudes cannot be directly observed, “they are latent, inferred from the direction and persistence of external behaviour” (Baker 1993:11). In the attempt to address this, some of the interview questions revert back to issues that students have been asked before in the questionnaires, which I had administered to students a few weeks before the interview, so as to accommodate the evolving identities of students, as academic writers and as second language speakers of English.

Pastoll (1984) argues that in considering issues of time limitations, attempting to sample all the possible effects that a particular phenomenon could have on a group and produce acceptable measures of the extent of these effects is not advisable. He states that a convenient solution is to sample the students’ *perceptions* of how a learning environment affects them, perceptions which in turn shape attitudes towards the learning environment, and use the findings to guide any possible reviewing of current policies. The research does, however, take into consideration the fact that sampling perceptions does not result in a fully representative reflection of reality, since a perception is a subjective phenomenon.

3.1.3. Validity and reliability

The research design made use of in this research acknowledges the factors that could bring the validity and reliability of the data into question. A valid design is one that “measures or describes what it is supposed to measure or describe” (Bell 1987:65). A reliable design is one that measures accurately and more importantly, produces consistent results from one time to another (Johnson, 1992).

While I valued the students’ subjectivity, I had to deal with my own subjectivity. I had to take certain measures to ensure that I was objective throughout the interviews. My racial identity and having English as a second language proved to be advantageous in many aspects of the research, like having access to the languages that the students speak. I could identify with the problems that the students encounter as second language speakers. However, I was also aware that this could potentially lead to my objectivity as a researcher being compromised, especially in an interview context where I would be interacting verbally with the students.

One of the measures that I took in the pursuit of objectivity was to consider the structure of the interview and how this would affect the interview. The interviews that I conducted were semi-structured. Even though the students’ responses would partly

determine how the interview would unfold, I had already anticipated beforehand how the structure would proceed. I had written down all the questions that would address the research questions. While I hoped that the data from the interviews would reveal additional information, I wanted to ensure that my over-identifying with students did not sidetrack the interviews. Using an interview guide meant that I could keep the focus on questions that the research seeks to answer, thereby increasing the validity of the interviews and the data yielded by the interviews.

The sampling of attitudes could potentially lead to the reliability of the data being questioned, as attitudes are subjective, likely to change from one context to the next. It is therefore difficult to assess the reliability of the methods that one uses in research that attempts to sample a subjective phenomenon of this nature. I addressed this in the interview by revisiting some of the questions that I had asked in the questionnaire, questions that were likely to produce inconsistent answers due to the subjective nature of the issues under investigation. A period of four months had passed between administering the second questionnaire and the second interview, which I describe later in this chapter. I wanted to find out whether the students would give the same responses that they had given in the questionnaires. Giving the students the option of using their primary languages meant that I had to translate the responses written in African languages. In an attempt to increase the reliability of the data I had an African language speaker working in a language-based department to read my translations so as to verify their accuracy.

3.1.4. Generalisability

The number of questionnaire respondents (twenty-one) prompted me to think about the generalisability of the research findings. Supporters of the case study method such as Johnson (1992) and Bell (1987) argue that the worthiness of the case study lies in the extent to which the findings of a case study can be used to address problems that arise out of a similar situation to that of the case study. They argue that the *reliability* of a case study is more important than its generalisability. Educational research also assumes that people are more alike than they are different. A “group” (people who are involved in something for a common cause) generally has mutual interests and are likely to be affected in a like manner by something. Using a small sample of students is therefore justifiable, especially in a case study context.

3.2. Methods

The methods that I used in the process of data collection were chosen because of the nature of data that they yield, data that manages to communicate the role of contextual factors, which are significant for my research. I was aware of the limitations involved in their use and attempted to find ways and means of addressing these limitations so as to avoid a situation that would result in a distortion of data.

The data was collected mainly through the following methods:

1. Two questionnaires
2. Tape-recorded, semi-structured interviews
3. Observation of lectures / field notes

Language option in research process

A common factor across the methods (questionnaires and interviews) that I make use of is that of giving the students the option of using their primary languages. This option forms an important process in this research, especially when one considers the objectives of the research. The research explores ways of making the TIC course curriculum more accessible to EAL students. Language is seen as being central in the facilitating of access, the ideal situation being one where EAL students are able to utilize their primary languages as support structures when working with genres that they are culturally familiar with.

3.2.1. Questionnaires

I designed two questionnaires with the aim of comparing the responses of one questionnaire to the responses in the other. Both questionnaires consisted of a range of questions that required the students to respond to yes or no responses and to open-ended questions that required more detailed explanations and descriptions. (see Appendix A and B).

My decision to include the questionnaire as one of my methods can best be described by drawing on Giles & Ryan (1982) who argue:

“Language attitudes have been successfully measured directly with questionnaires bearing explicitly on language evaluation (how favourably a variety is viewed) or language preference, for example, which of two languages or varieties is preferred for certain purposes in certain situations” (83).

My research has, as its primary concern, the aspect of language attitudes which deals with language preference, with the questionnaire seeking to find out the language that students would prefer to write in when writing about different genres. A questionnaire is a convenient method of data collection in that it allows the researcher to collect information from a large group of respondents in a short period of time. It is a valuable source of data in that “it allows qualitative data to be collected from more respondents than could be interviewed” (Vulliamy *et al*/ 1990:129). The data yielded by the questionnaire is of value to interpretive research as the use of a large group of students enables the researcher to trace patterns in the various responses of the students. The patterns elicited from the responses are then useful in the process of data interpretation as issues that are prevalent in the students’ responses are identified and their significance to the research problem is thoroughly explained. A limitation of the questionnaire is that the researcher is not in a position to get immediate clarity on responses that may either be ambiguous or vague, a limitation that can be directly addressed in the interview.

3.2.2. Interviews

The importance of the qualitative approach in educational research has resulted in the interview being a widely used research tool (Bell, 1987). For purposes of this research the interview is used to supplement the main method of data collection, which is the questionnaire. Interviewing is one of the most effective ways of obtaining a fuller picture of respondents’ knowledge, attitudes or beliefs. I chose the interview as a method because of the nature of this research, which sees the students as being active participants in the data collection process and the research as a whole. Interviews allow for the respondent to supply information other than that which the questions seek to find which is advantageous in that students’ responses are likely to reveal information that is significant in tracing patterns and relationships between factors. The advantage of interviews is that the researcher is better able to obtain data that addresses the questions asked in the study. Bell (1987) states:

A major advantage of the interview is its adaptability. A skilful interviewer can follow up ideas, probe responses and investigate motives and feelings. The way in which a response is made (the tone of the voice, facial expression, hesitation, etc) can provide information that a written response would conceal. Questionnaire responses have to be taken at face value, but a response in an interview can be developed and clarified. The interview can yield rich material and can often put flesh on the bones of questionnaire responses (91).

Interviews, however can be perceived by some respondents as being intrusive and this results in the respondents "deliberately or unconsciously supplying false or misleading data" (Lecompte & Preissle 1991:166). In addressing this possibility I have decided to view students' statements as being authentic, as reflecting what they believe to be true at that particular time and context.

3.2.3. Field notes

I attended lectures and workgroups throughout the course with the aim of getting a "feel" of the course, the atmosphere in the lectures and students' attitudes towards the course. I was an outsider to the course, therefore I was there to observe students in the setting of the course and how the course worked. I recorded observations in a notebook with the aim of using these field notes from the lecture observations to explain the data that I would get from the interviews. As one of the goals of a case study is to illustrate relationships and how factors interact and influence each other, I felt that the field notes obtained from observing the lectures would help in explaining some issues in the wider context of the research. They would put me in a better position to share and interpret the context.

I also hoped to find out the first language speakers' perceptions of the course, which I addressed by directly asking them questions after the lectures outside the lecture hall. Even though the research focuses on second language speakers, I felt that getting an idea of first language students' attitudes towards the course could be used as some sort of a yardstick when describing and interpreting EAL students' attitudes.

3.3. Research process

The *Texts in Context* course is a semester course that commenced in February and ended in July. I had to design the first questionnaire as soon as the lectures started because of the short duration of the course. I decided to restrict the research to students with South African indigenous languages because of the research context (South African language policy which stresses the right of individuals to have access to their languages is one of the issues that the research draws on). I then had to get access to the students.

3.3.1. Stage 1- Access to students for the first questionnaire

I had four sites where I got access to students, namely; a tutorial group; a study group, the main lectures and the Writing Centre. "Study group" in this context refers to a form of academic support for EAL students who are also registered for the academic literacy course DOH 102F "Language in the Humanities". I sat in on lectures, study groups and tutorials, the aim being to familiarise myself with the course. For the first questionnaire I got volunteers mainly from the study groups. I was given a few minutes to introduce my research to students and to ask for volunteers.

I got access to two of the fifteen students in their tutorial groups. I decided to introduce the language issue by asking them how often they used their primary languages and in what contexts. We spoke Xhosa throughout our meeting as one student had Xhosa as his primary language and the other one spoke South Sotho but was fluent in Xhosa due to her Eastern Cape upbringing.

Both students stated that they found the lectures interesting and were still in the process of adjusting to the environment at UCT. They also talked about the ethnic diversity of their lecture groups, which produced statements ranging from ⁴Nwabisa's rather amusing statement "Whites are geniuses" because they are more vocal in tutorials to more sombre issues concerning their relationship with tutors, where Mbulelo stated that he was "scared" of approaching tutors with his language problems because they were White and therefore might not "understand". I then gave each of them a questionnaire and went through the questions with them,

⁴ I changed student's names to ensure anonymity.

advising them that they could write in their primary languages if they wanted to, which they both did.

I scheduled the initial meeting with the other students to coincide with the submission of their first assignment in the form of an informal essay titled "Description of place". The students were not writing the essay for marks, but the essay was intended to get the students thinking about the analytical framework which they were going to make use of throughout the course. I explained how the research could be of benefit to them in that it aimed to address issues around language diversity, with the focus being to explore ways of using their languages as means of facilitating their access to the course.

A total of fifteen questionnaires were administered. I gave all the students a week within which to return the questionnaires, while acknowledging the possibility that within this period the students would probably discuss the questions with each other. Five male students and six female students returned eleven of the fifteen administered questionnaires. The range of primary languages was Xhosa, Zulu and South Sotho (see Appendix F1).

3.3.2. Stage 2 - The second questionnaire

I distributed the second questionnaire during the sixth week of the course to coincide with the praise poetry section. Three weeks had lapsed between the administering of the first and second questionnaire. Because of the nature of the questions in the questionnaire, which were structured in a more complex way than the ones in the previous questionnaire, I gave the questionnaire to a student who had done the course in the previous year with the hope that he would suggest changes where needed. As this was the main questionnaire in that it specifically focused on praise poetry, I got more students to participate.

I administered the questionnaires shortly after a lecture in which someone recited a praise poem, giving a performance that evoked excited responses from the students in the "audience". A total of twenty-one out of twenty-five questionnaires was returned. The primary languages of the respondents were Xhosa, South Sotho, Tshivenda, Setswana and Zulu (see Appendix F2). I got access to two of the students through the Writing Centre. As I had to get a larger group of students for the second questionnaire, I decided that the Writing Centre would be a practical site

to get volunteers from as I had easy access to students (I had specifically requested that Texts in Context students be booked to me for consultations).

3.3.3. Stage 3- Interviews

After the responses from the questionnaires were analyzed, it became obvious that greater clarity was required and more questions had to be asked in order to obtain a clearer picture of relationships between the findings that emerged from the questionnaire responses. I had originally intended that the interview would be one of the methods used in the research, however, at the beginning of the data collection clarity emerged on the nature of questions that I would ask. The questionnaire responses revealed issues that could then be followed up in the interview. The interviews were conducted with the main intent of addressing the issue concerning students' perceptions of their access to the curriculum as far as using their primary languages is concerned. The interviews related to course-specific details, rather than general language attitudes, as was the case with the first questionnaire. I conducted interviews with three students whose questionnaire responses I felt were interesting or hinted at ambivalence and therefore needed to be explored further through an interview. I had aimed to interview more students but due to the examinations that the students were writing this proved impossible. The number of students that were interviewed could bring the generalisability of the research findings into question. The qualitative case study is characteristic of its relatability rather than its generalisability (see section on "Generalisability"). The approach that I use requires a thorough and detailed analysis and interpretation of the data. I therefore felt that making use of a limited number of students would enable me to do justice to the data when it came to analyzing and interpreting them. Another reason behind the number of interviewees had to do with the difficulty involved in getting students to participate in the interviews because of examinations and the vacation.

I decided to pay the students whom I had chosen to interview. The decision to pay them stemmed from my feeling that I had already asked a lot from them regarding the two questionnaires and thus needed to reward the students for their participation in the interviews. I had also been advised that this group of students had been "over-researched", hence my decision to pay them.

For the interviews I formulated questions that were partly based on the responses that the three students had given in their questionnaires. The questions were

structured around the following issues; students' changing identities as academic writers, their awareness of and familiarity with the different genres in the course, particularly the praise poem, and their attitudes towards textual analysis.

I conducted the first interview (see Appendix C1) with Mbulelo during the exam period. The interview was conducted mainly in Xhosa. English was mainly used when making reference to the concepts used in the course and when asking certain questions whose meanings were more clearly expressed through the use of English (because of the complexity in meaning generated by the concepts that are central to my research, for example "genre"). Mbulelo code-switched between Xhosa and English, speaking Xhosa more frequently than English.

At the end of the session I asked him to write about the difficulties he had encountered in the process of planning his essays, (see Appendix C2) particularly focusing on the last essay that they had had to write. I had not originally intended this exercise to form part of the research design. One of the issues that emerged from the questionnaire responses had to do with the difficulty of textual analysis as a genre. By asking the students to write about the process involved in the planning of their essays, I hoped to get a sense of the difficulties that the students experienced, especially when it came to using the concepts involved in textual analysis. As Johnson (1992) states, the research design of the qualitative case study needs to be flexible, to accommodate new issues that emerge as the research unfolds. This means that "the boundaries of the study may need to be shifted" (85). The aim behind this request (asking the three students to write about difficulties), was to address an important emerging issue – difficulties with textual analysis. I also wanted to have a piece of writing from the students that I could use to supplement the data yielded by the interviews. The aim behind asking students to produce the piece of writing was to look not only at what people say but what they do as well.

The second interview (see Appendix D1) was conducted after the vacation. I met with the students, Nwabisa and Mbulelo, at the Writing Centre. The interview was conducted in both English and Xhosa, English used alongside Xhosa to clarify and emphasise statements. Their responses at first reflected their awareness of each other's presence, with a lot of hesitating before responding to the questions. However, after a few minutes the two students seemed to be at ease with one another and even commented on each other's responses, either to support what the other had said or to voice a different opinion. After the interview the students each

produced a one page written response on the planning process involved in the writing of the last essay (see Appendix D2). I had to translate the responses of the students who had preferred to respond in their primary languages and have them verified.

The methods that I made use of in the collection of data are appropriate for the nature of the research because, while they might offer limited generalisability due to the factors that they attempt to sample (attitudes), they are useful in terms of their ability to yield information that may potentially inform the design of curricula that attempt to relocate cultural capital. In the next chapter, I will analyze the data yielded by the questionnaires and interviews and present the themes that emerged.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF DATA

In the Methodology chapter I discussed in detail the methods that I used to collect my data, and tried to justify why I selected them. As I indicated in the previous chapter this research is mainly qualitative in its approach. A qualitative approach allows for an analysis of data where the intricate details of the relationship between factors are discussed. In this chapter my primary aim is to present the data that was yielded by the two questionnaires and the interviews. I present the data from the first questionnaire by drawing out distinct themes that emerge from the three different categories of students' responses. I also look at the similarities and differences in students' responses, which I feel serves to highlight significant issues. I handle the data yielded by the second questionnaire in the same way, by grouping responses into categories. The third section of this chapter deals with the data yielded by the interviews, where I also present the data by drawing out themes that emerge. I have placed numbers directly after the translated versions of students' words. These numbers correspond with the numbers of the original students' words in Appendix E.

In the introduction I stated that the choice presented to students in both questionnaires and in the interviews (whether they would choose to write essays in their primary languages or in English) is a hypothetical one. I explained to the students that the choice was not a real one in that their views had no immediate consequences. I wanted to find out what they would choose if they were to be given a choice and what influenced the choices that they made, as a way of bringing their attitudes to the surface.

Analysis of questionnaires

Questionnaire 1 (see Appendix A)

I administered the questionnaire shortly after the students had written their first essay for the course. The essay was not intended to assess students' performance, but to get students thinking about the analytical framework which they would make use of throughout the course. The questionnaire was aimed at finding out students' language preferences concerning the writing of academic essays in general. The

table below is a presentation of the responses to the first questionnaire, which asks the students about language choice in academic essay writing.

The question that the students were asked to respond to is "Would you choose to write an academic essay in your home language if given the choice? Please tick one of the following: yes / no / unsure"

Table 1: Choice of home language for academic essay

NUMBER OF STUDENTS = 11		
CATEGORIES	NUMBER OF RESPONSES	PERCENTAGE
YES	4	36%
NO	4	36%
UNSURE	3	27%

A total of eleven out of thirteen completed questionnaires were returned. There were six Xhosa L1 speakers, 3 Zulu speakers and two South Sotho speakers (see Appendix F1). Four students said that they would choose to write an essay in their primary languages, four said no and three were unsure.

4.1. THEMES

4.1.1. Instrumental importance of the English language

The reasons given by the students who would not write in their primary languages and those who were unsure are similar in that they are instrumental in nature. They are mostly career-orientated. Students emphasized the importance of English as an international language and language of learning. For example, Siyabulela stated that English is an international language and is very important outside the institution, in the work place where one encounters people from diverse backgrounds:

English does not only help in communicating with someone, it also opens doors to another successful careers. It multiplies the opportunities for you and narrows the gap between yourself and the job

He felt that his primary language is not of much use to him because his Xhosa essay will be understood by a limited audience only.

Nwabisa and Peace too would opt for English. They both mention the importance of the English language in academic institutions. Peace writes:

I know that white students have advantage because its their first language but I prefer English because by writing essays in English is the way of practicing and I believe that educated people must know how to use English because in our communities we as Xhosa's take educated people as people who know English very well, so my choice to use English is not that I want to change to be someone else...it is only that I want to be educated person who is fluent in English

Peace's words are important in that they show the view that English is equal to education. Nwabisa's response, apart from acknowledging the importance of English, also indicates her understanding of literacy:

I believe that for one to be able to know a language, one has to speak, read and write that language. For this reason, I find English necessary, most importantly because English is the sole medium of instruction in lectures (1).

Nwabisa feels that students who are L2 speakers of English should be presented with the choice of writing in their home languages should they wish to do so. Both respondents feel that the only way that they can master the language is to use it constantly.

The students who were unsure give various reasons which also had to do with the status of English as having instrumental value and the academic environment at UCT. Peace mentions the disadvantages of being a second language speaker at UCT:

I think that an ideal situation is one where each and every student is free to speak his or her home language. The present academic situation here on campus is advantageous for the white students only, as it is their mother tongue that is spoken. I do not even want to start discussing their advantage when it comes to writing essays and having workgroup discussions. They are always ahead of us in discussions and one finds that they discuss among themselves. In situations like this you will find that we feel alienated, we cannot really follow the argument and we are

just grateful that we can at least understand what they are saying. We Zulu students are unfortunate in that we cannot help the fact that we are not English speaking (2).

Peace also makes reference to assessment results: *I notice that they (White students) are the ones who get good results at the end of the year.* She, however, does not really say why she is undecided as far as choosing to write in her home language is concerned.

Khaya states that he would be pleased if a choice to write in his primary language was always made available to him. His uncertainty around the issue of writing an essay in his primary language stems from the fact that he is also aware of the importance of English as an international language:

The element of doubt comes from the fact that I can also be pleased to write and speak other languages like English as it is an international language. At the same time the fact that the South African government has officialised more than ten languages influenced me to be interested on writing (in) as many languages as possible.

Mzukisi also expresses concern over the issue of employment:

Personally I am not sure which language to choose. However if the decision were really up to me I would choose my home language because it is the one that I am comfortable with. When I write in English I get stuck because I don't know how to express myself. Because of this my chances of passing are limited. However, I have no choice but to write in English because I will eventually have to get a job and this will be difficult if I do not know English as people also have to understand me. But I would have loved to write in Xhosa, a language that I sucked from my mother's breast.

⁵*(Ke mna andiqinisekanga ukuba bekusiya ngokwam ngendibhala ngolwimi lam. Ngoba lelona endiziva ndicomfortable ngalo, xana ndisebenzisa isiNgesi ndiyaxinga ngoku loo nto yenza ukuba ndingabinamathuba aneleyoekupaseni izifundo zam. Kodwa ke kunyanzelekile ukuba ndisebenzise isingesi ngenxa yokuba kuzakufuneka ukuba ndiphangele. Kodwa bendithanda ukusebenzisa isiXhosa sakowethu, ulwimi endaluncanca ebeleni.)*

⁵ I have included some students' actual words in the text instead of placing them in the appendix. I have done this where I felt that the words made a strong statement.

Mzukisi's response is interesting in that he assumes that the colleagues he will have in his future job will not be Xhosa speaking and this is what motivates him to learn English. The way he has expressed himself in Xhosa is interesting, especially where he refers to having sucked the language from his mother's breast, an expression he might not have been able to use in English.

Sizwe gives a different reason for not choosing to write in his primary language. There is a shift from the usual reason given by students for choosing to write in English, i.e. being compelled to use English to secure good jobs. Sizwe refers to the positive motivation he gets from writing in English:

If I write an assignment using English, I usually feel more confidence and willing to try harder to understand, If I'm using English I become more interested, that's why I chose to use it in all my subjects. I think its gonna be difficult for me to use Zulu, there will be a time to translate that from Zulu to English, so there is an advantage for me in chosing English.

4.1.2. Value of African languages in essay writing

The students who would choose to write in their primary languages gave as their main reason the fact that they are able to express themselves more clearly in their languages. Mbulelo writes:

When one writes an essay in Xhosa, it is easy for that person to communicate exactly what he wants to say. If one is given a topic he can write about that topic and give clear evidence along with his facts (3).

Mbulelo concludes by writing that what worries him is the fact that he HAS to know how to speak and write in English because that is the only way of securing a good job when he graduates.

Anele's reason for choosing her primary language also has to do with clear expression. She refers to the struggle that students experience in the transition from school to the university:

I will choose my home language for academic writing and speaking because I am able to express myself in it more than any language. The kind of English used here

at varsity is quite different from the one we did at school and this makes it difficult for us.

Viwe refers to the problems she experiences with essay writing; problems that are language based. She raises the issue of schooling, which brings up issues around class. She states:

You find it so hard sometimes to write an essay in English because there are some words that you don't know how to put them in English. Maybe you know what you want to write but the problem is that you don't know how to put it in English. I find so hard to write a essay because English is my second language and I didn't get the chance to attend those private schools and I'm struggling about that. When the tutor mark your essay he or she don't care that English is your first language or not but the only thing he care about is that you have to get the same marks as the White students.

There were differences that I noted in the students' responses. An interesting difference among the students who would choose to write in their primary languages is that one of the students, Mbulelo, refers to the options that would be available to him if he would choose to write in Xhosa. He writes:

It is difficult to use interesting proverbs when writing in English, proverbs which I could use with relative ease when writing in my primary language.

The other students concentrated more on the fact that they express themselves better in their primary languages.

I noticed that there was an interesting gendered aspect to the responses. Two of the female students acknowledged schooling and were insecure that they had not gone to good schools. Viwe hints at the advantages of going to private schools and Nwabisa expresses concern about the disadvantaged schools that most African students come from:

I have come to this conclusion because some of us who come from disadvantaged schools get low marks not because we like it but because we are not competent in English (4).

Some of the male respondents, in contrast, seemed to be more concerned about not being employable should they fail to learn how to write in and speak English.

The main themes that emerged from the data yielded by the first questionnaire mainly had to do with the instrumental importance of English, where students seemed to be caught between the need to write in their primary language and the role that the English language plays in society and academia.

Questionnaire 2 (see Appendix B)

Of the twenty-one students who responded to the second questionnaire, eight (8) students participated in the answering of *both* the first questionnaire and the second questionnaire. The other thirteen(13) students only participated in the answering of the second questionnaire.

The second questionnaire explores the genre issue more extensively than the first questionnaire. It does this by specifically asking questions centered around praise poetry, the main question being whether students would choose to write an essay on praise poetry in their primary languages or not. Before going out to collect data I had written down the nature of responses that I expected to emerge from students' responses. I had anticipated that the students' responses would highlight racial and identity issues because of the emphasis on praise poetry. I had not anticipated the force with which the language problems that the students experience emerged from their responses.

In this section new data emerges. The data yielded by this questionnaire covers a wider range of themes, some of which come up in the first questionnaire. Questions 3, 4 and 7 particularly yield data that bring new issues to the fore as they seek to find out students' perceptions of the accessibility of the curriculum. This questionnaire does not just look at language attitudes out of context, but focuses on attitudes towards the course specifically, which means that the case aspect of the research emerges. I have chosen to start with analyzing the responses to question 5 as it is common to both questionnaires, the only difference being that this time the focus is specifically on praise poetry. Students were asked, "Would you choose to write an essay on praise poetry in your primary language if given a choice? Please tick one of the following: yes no unsure"

TABLE 2: Choice of home language for essay on praise poetry

NUMBER OF STUDENTS = 21		
CATEGORIES	NUMBER OF RESPONSES	PERCENTAGE
YES	9	43%
NO	5	24%
UNSURE	7	33%

There were twenty-one students who filled in this questionnaire. The range of primary languages was Xhosa, Zulu, South Sotho, Venda, Tsonga and Setswana. Nine respondents stated that they would choose to write an essay on praise poetry in their primary languages; five chose *no* and seven chose *unsure*.

The positive responses were slightly higher than in the first questionnaire (43% as compared to 36%), but then so was the number of respondents. I had expected the “yes” responses to be more than the other two categories. There were more “unsures” than I had anticipated. I assumed that the students would be absolutely certain in their decision making, this assumption based on the fact that praise poetry as a genre would be one that the students are culturally familiar with, but they managed to bring up issues around praise poetry that I had not anticipated.

The themes that I drew out from students who would choose to write essays in their primary languages included the difficulty with genre of textual analysis and their familiarity with the content of praise poetry. The difficulty of praise poetry (both vocabulary and content) also came up in the students’ responses, more especially among those who were *unsure* of the language they would write in.

4.1.3. Clearer expression in primary language

Five of the students who chose to write in their primary languages gave their reason for this choice as being that they would express themselves more clearly in their primary languages. Mogetsu gave the following reason:

I prefer to write an essay on praise poetry in my own language because in my own language I can express more than in a language that is not my mother tongue.

Mzukisi states:

When you use your primary language you are able to explain your facts clearly in exactly the way you want to (5). However when you use a second language you cannot elaborate on your points in the essay.

Khaya writes:

At the same time some of the praise poetry more especially on Shaka will be in an African language so I will be expressing myself well.

Anele states that

praise poetry is very easy. We did it at school (both at primary and at secondary). I grew up in a society where praise poetry is widely used. If I was given a choice to do praise poetry in my home language I would have the opportunity to express myself well.

Her reason for choosing to write an essay on praise poetry in her primary language seems to be influenced by her background and her familiarity with the genre, a familiarity that results from the fact that the society she grew up in valued the genre.

Another interesting response is Ntombi's who is concerned about having a translated version of the praise poem. She writes:

When the poem is in English the poet's rhythm will not come through like it would if the poem was in Xhosa (6).

Ntombi's response points to her familiarity with praise poetry and to the aesthetics of the genre. She uses praise poetry terminology when referring to the special sound effects of the genre. Another interesting thing in the way she answered the questionnaire is that she answered all the other questions in the questionnaire in English but chose to answer this particular one in Xhosa. She uses expressive vocabulary, terms that are used in praise poetry analysis, phrases like "*izingqi zembongi*" that refers to a particular pace in rhythm that the poet uses in his poem.

4.1.4. Identity

Identity, in terms of class, race and ethnicity, is a theme that emerged frequently from the students' responses. Francis' response is largely influenced by identity issues. He states;

Songs of Praise makes us to be interested in knowing the praises of other nations in South Africa and I would choose to use my own language (7).

He further writes that writing about praise poetry in his language gives him great enthusiasm and allows him to participate in things that he wants the reader to understand.

I found it interesting that it was mainly the male students' responses that tended to be more concerned with ethnic issues. Question three (3) and four (4) seek to find out the attitudes of the students towards the case study focus on Shaka and whether they think it is a good idea to write essays on praise poetry. Paris' response to question three was negative. He writes:

The representation of a particular nation disregards the history of other nations.

His answer to question four also involved a discussion on cultural issues. He wrote that he thinks it *is* a good idea to write essays on praise poetry because it makes us know our culture and identity as Blacks.

Mzukisi is more concerned with the fact that most of the Shaka texts have been written by White authors:

what I do not like is the fact that the texts have been written by White people (8).

Mogetsj, on the other hand, states that writing essays on praise poetry would be a good idea because praise poetry enhances the appreciation of Black culture.

4.1.5. Complex language and content of praise poetry

Students who would not choose to write essays on praise poetry in their primary languages listed the difficulty of the languages used in African praise poetry. Nwabisa states:

Praises are written in a complicated manner. I am a Sotho but praise poems are difficult for me. I understand them after a long time, after someone has explained them to me. Poems have difficult words that are not common and these words are used a lot in these poems.

(Ke hana ke le Mosotho tjena, dithokodi a mpalla. Ke di utlwisisa ka mora nako e telele kapa ka mora hore motho e mong a ntharollele tsona. So dithoko dina le mantswe a thatha, a tlwaelehang, a so sebedisweng hangata ka mehla).

Nozuko states: *Xhosa terms are more difficult than the English ones* (terms used in praise poems). Lundi states that he has little understanding of Venda praise poetry and would not be able to write about it in his primary language. Complex language of praise poetry seems to be a common factor across a variety of languages.

Three of the seven students were unsure of whether they would choose to write in their primary languages. They attributed their uncertainty to difficult vocabulary, similarly to those who chose no. Sizwe writes:

I'm unsure because I don't have any idea on which vocabulary one is expected to use...praise poetry of Shaka that is written in Zulu, it confuses me because it uses very old language and very strong words that I don't know even though it's my first language.

Mbulelo refers to the unfamiliar content of praise poetry:

I'm not quite sure whether I would choose to do that (write in his primary language) because praise poetry talks about the whole range of things in our society. Others we don't know.

There were differences that I noted in the students' responses. Siyabulela's response took an entirely different route compared to the responses of the other students in this category. His reason for not choosing to write in his primary language, did not make reference to vocabulary. He was more concerned with making the people aware of what praising someone (king) entails, *the fact that he (imbongi) is with the king does not necessarily mean that he praises*. Siyabulela also states that the people who write about praise poetry misinterpret the African languages. He refers to a text studied in the course – the diary of Francis Fynn. Siyabulela then comes to the conclusion that because the people who translated for

Fyn were not African, one cannot be sure whether their interpretations were accurate or not.

4.1.6. Instrumental importance of English

The students who were unsure referred to the instrumental importance of English. Naledi makes a reference to the language policy at UCT:

When I write the praise poetry in my primary (language) then there are no chances of improving my vocabulary and English has to be applied to all courses since it is the medium of UCT.

Phindile's response is similar to Naledi's; he would prefer to use both his primary language and English:

I would love to express myself in both languages and not be restricted okay though Xhosa will take preference. The problem now is with this English writing all the time (writing in English all the time) and I am losing confidence in my Xhosa writing. Andifuni ukuzipoila ngesiXhosa kuba ndinyanzelekile ndibhale isiNgesi kule university. (I do not want to spoil myself by using Xhosa because at the end of the day I will have to write essays in English at this university)

The way Phindile has written his response is interesting. He has code-switched, using both English and Xhosa. Where he wrote in Xhosa he seems to want to emphasize the fact that he is "forced" to use English at UCT. When I read the sentence it felt that he was resigning himself to the fact that he always has to use English. The sentence comes across rather strongly in its emphasis, and I do not think it would have had the same effect if he had written it in English. That could also be the reason why he wrote it in Xhosa.

4.2. Attitudes of respondents towards the use of praise poetry and the ⁶Shaka texts.

Question three (3) asks, ***Are you enjoying the case study focus on "Representations of Shaka" more than the previous texts used in the course? Please tick one of the following and explain your answer.*** Students had to choose one from the following options: *yes, a lot; yes; not really; unsure*

⁶ These are texts about Shaka, written by various authors and which form part of the course curriculum.

7 said *yes, a lot*; 7 said *yes*; 5 said *not really* and two chose *unsure* i.e they were generally positive.

Students who stated that they enjoyed the Shaka texts gave reasons that had to do with their African and ethnic identity, for example:

I enjoy the case study because I am Xhosa and that makes me proud of the history of Black people. It (praise poetry) makes us known to other races and nations.

The fact that the Shaka texts focus on Zulu culture served to discourage one student who chose *not really*, for example:

The representation of Shaka focuses more on Zulu identity than Black identity in general.

Nwabisa, in trying to show why she does not really enjoy the course, states:

DOH 101F is not a political course. Please use texts that do not divide whites from blacks. I am not saying this because I am racist but a person becomes emotional. My advise is that we should not be taught about tribal or ethnic subjects (apartheid).

4.2.1. Difficulties with textual analysis

The other three students who chose *not really* were more concerned with the difficulty of analysis and writing essays based on Shaka Zulu. Pearl writes, *...praise poems are so hard to analyze, so I can say it's too difficult for me to understand it.* Lundi has a similar problem:

I can't say yes because I'm not yet understanding what the topic requires me to do.

Similarly, Nozuko has a problem with essay topics (I think that she is referring to other parts of the course as well, not just essays on Shaka Zulu):

sometimes I am out of topic and consequently I get low marks".

Difficulty around essay writing is what prevents these students from enjoying the Shaka texts.

Students' response to the question: *Are there any text types that you would like to see being used more in the DOH course? Please explain why.*

This question directly addresses issues around the curriculum and in this section issues around the case study (praise poem) and the Shaka texts come to the fore. It gives students the opportunity to comment on the curriculum content by suggesting genres that could be used in the course. In thinking about genres that could be used, students comment on the current genres used in the course. These comments are significant because they reveal how students perceive the current curriculum.

Six out of the twenty-one students stated that they did not see the need for other text types to be used in the course. Some of their reasons were that there were already enough texts. I think that these students were concerned with the workload. Among the six students, Anna mentioned the difficulty of the current texts and because of this difficulty feels that adding more will only serve to disadvantage her:

the texts we have done so far are enough and difficult so to add more will complicate things further.

One student's response was influenced by his attitude towards the course:

No. Anyway I don't like the course at all.

Three students simply left the spaces blank, with no answer and explanation. I had questioned them about this when they returned the questionnaires. One student answered that he could not think of any text types at that particular moment and the other two stated that they were confused as to what text types meant exactly and therefore did not want to give a wrong answer.

Seven of the twelve students who answered the question in the positive did not really specify the types of texts that they thought should be used more in the course. The other students among the seven listed the advantages of the texts currently being used in the course:

these texts help students to see things differently...therefore more texts, more critical thinking

and

I like to gather more information from different texts and different ideas of the authors.

Nwabisa also did not mention any particular types of texts but was adamant that those texts that *divide Blacks from Whites* should not be used.

Four students managed to specify the text types that they felt should be used more or introduced as part of the course. All four of them had rather interesting responses. Pearl write that she preferred texts that focus on current events in the media. Mbulelo also preferred texts that deal with current issues:

I would suggest that if the DOH 101F could focus on text of nowadays or from 1990 until to this 20th century that we are in...we have to be given texts that are not boring or present texts that we are familiar with.

Eddie responded by suggesting film be used more in the course, “*as they usually show us the main idea of the thing*”. Phindile suggested that they should be given articles on Nelson Mandela.

4.3. Comparison of students’ responses to the first and second questionnaire

In this section I am going to compare the responses of the eight students to the questions, ***Would you choose to write an academic essay in your primary language if given a choice? (questionnaire 1)*** and ***Would you choose to write an essay on praise poetry in your primary language if given a choice?(questionnaire 2).***

The reason behind comparing the students’ responses to the two questionnaires is to find out how their perceptions had changed, if at all. Given the fact that a considerable length of time had passed between the answering of the questionnaires, I wanted to find out whether the passing of time had had any influence on their choices as they would most likely be less intimidated by their first year status. They might also have been more familiar with English and I wanted to find out whether this would have any influence on their attitudes towards English and their primary languages.

Of the eight students, four are consistent in their responses, three answering *no* to both questions and one answering *yes* to both questions. I had also expected that the students who had chosen to write in the primary languages in the first questionnaire would also choose to write in their primary languages for praise poetry. However, there was a shift in responses, with two of the students who had chosen to write in their primary languages ticking “unsure” when it came to deciding whether they would choose to use their primary languages for writing about praise poetry. In making their choices they were more realistic than I had expected them to be. They appreciate praise poetry but are also mindful of the difficult discourse that the genre is characteristic of.

The students who answered *no* to both questions supported their answers with different reasons. Nwabisa states in the first questionnaire that she would not choose to use her primary language for writing an academic essay because if a person does not know how to speak, read and write in English the person will be at a disadvantage in the classroom. In the second questionnaire she refers to the difficult discourse used in African praise poetry, stating that it would be difficult to write in her primary language.

Pearl prefers to use English when writing both the academic essay and the essay on praise poetry. The reasons that she gives in both instances are quite thought-provoking because in the first questionnaire she writes about the symbolic importance of English. Her responses contradict each other because at first she states that she would be in a position to write well in her primary language but then in the second questionnaire she states that she expresses herself better in English. This contradiction is common in instances where second language speakers negotiate the need to assert the value of their primary languages with that of learning English because of its instrumental value.

Siyabulela’s response stays the same. He still would not choose to use his primary language for writing an essay on praise poetry but this time the reason has to do with the people who are misinformed about the genre. In the first questionnaire his reason for choosing *no* was because of the instrumental importance of English. Anele is the only student who chose to write in her primary language in both instances. In both questionnaires she states that she expresses herself clearly in her primary language. Anna chooses to write an essay on praise poetry in her primary language because she is familiar with the genre.

Mbulelo and Viwe both stated that they would choose to write in their primary languages but in the second questionnaire they choose *unsure*. Mbulelo mentions the difficult content of praise poems. In another part of the questionnaire he writes that the terms used in Xhosa praise poetry are difficult to understand.

One of the issues that comes up in the students' responses has to do with the difficulties that they experience when it comes to working with the English language. Mbulelo writes:

When one is writing an essay in English it is easy to fail if that person does not have English as a first language or if the person is from those outside schools. Sometimes it is difficult to understand what the topic is about or what it requires one to do. An example is when we are given a topic in the form of a proverb and you have to write an essay based on it. Those who have English as a first language do not have problems discussing it. You end up asking a lot of questions and this bores them. This hurts especially for those who come from black schools. It also becomes difficult to use proverbs that one knows and understands in Xhosa because they might not be relevant in an English context.

(Ukuba ubhala isincoko ngesiNgesi kulula ukutshona ingakumbi xa isiNgesi ingelolwimi lakho okanye usuka kwizikolo ezisemaphandleni. Ngelinye ixesha kuba nzima nokuba ukuba umbuzo ufuna ntoni na. Umzekelo ninikwe itopic yesiNgesi eyiproverb kuthiwe yixoxeni. Baza kuxoxa abantu, isiNgesi lulwimi lwabo lokuzalwa. Wena uzakumana ubuza qho abantu bade badikwe nguwe. Ibuhlungu le nto ingakumbi kumntu osuka kwizikolo zabantu abamnyama. Kuba nzima nokusebenzisa iqhalo ngesiXhosa hleze ithi kanti alingeni apha esiNgesini.)

Mzukisi and Khaya both wrote that they would choose to write essays on praise poetry in their primary languages but are both unsure in the first questionnaire. In this questionnaire both students are unsure of which language they would choose because of the importance of English as an international language and its instrumental value.

Sizwe chose not to write an academic essay in his primary language, instead opting to write about it in English. In the second questionnaire he was not sure of the language he would use when writing an essay on praise poetry because he is not sure of the vocabulary that one would be expected to use in the essay.

The data yielded by the questionnaires revealed a variety of themes, some of which showed up in more than one category. The status of English in academia, and its position as a world language influenced the responses of the students who stated that they would not choose to write essays in their primary language. This theme once again came up in the responses of the students who were unsure of the language they would write in. In the interviews some new themes emerged in addition to the themes that were of a similar nature to the ones emerging from the questionnaire.

4.4. Analysis of interviews

The interviews were conducted with the aim of doing a more in-depth exploration of how students perceive praise poetry in terms of facilitating access to the curriculum. The interviews were conducted in Xhosa and English. I also introduce questions on critical analysis, a genre that the students have to make use of in the production of essays. Because the difficulties experienced with critical analysis came up strongly in the data, I decided to shift the boundaries of my research to include an exploration of the nature of these difficulties.

The timing of the interviews is of significance. They were conducted towards the end of the first semester, which meant that there were a substantial period of time between the questionnaires and the interviews. Certain perceptions of the students may have evolved during this time, having been influenced by certain contextual factors, as the data yielded by the interviews will show.

4.4.1. Ambivalence towards English

At the beginning of the interview I reminded the students of the responses that they had written in the questionnaires, specifically the one question that sought to find out the language they would choose to use when writing essays. I asked if they would still make the same choices that they had made in the questionnaire responses.

Mbulelo, who had written in both questionnaires that he would choose to write in Xhosa, was rather indecisive when I posed the question to him in the interview. He first stated that his choice had changed; he would choose to write in English. The reason for this change was that his English vocabulary has developed since responding to the questionnaires:

well there has been an improvement in my vocabulary. I understand some English terms better now.

In the course of the interview, when I posed the same question to him, he stated that he was sure that he would choose to write in Xhosa, which was a change from his first response.

Nwabisa stated that she would still choose to write in English. However, during the interview her responses indicated that she would write in her primary language and not in English, as she had stated at the beginning. Mzingisi also stated that he would still make the same choice, he would choose to write in Xhosa. Their responses point to their evolving identities as academic writers which is influenced by the passing of time.

Nwabisa and Mzukisi both stated that writing an essay on praise poetry in their primary languages would serve to advantage them. Nwabisa states:

the advantage of using my own language is that I would be able to emphasize the things that need to be emphasized

and Mzukisi adds:

using your own language helps you to write exactly what you want. Using English would result in problems because you would use a term thinking that it clearly explains what you want to say, only to find that it is wrong.

Mzukisi however stated that he did not really think that the use of praise poetry in the course served to advantage them as second language speakers because one would eventually have to write about the genre using English.

Mbulelo's response showed that his choice was influenced by the fact that he would be writing specifically about praise poetry:

I would choose to write in Xhosa because I am familiar with Zulu culture and it would be easier to express myself and write all the things I know that have to do with praise poetry in my language. I would choose to write in my home language because I am familiar with Xhosa praise poetry, it is part of my culture.

The other essay that the students encountered earlier on in the course, "Description of place" was, as both students claimed, simple and they had not found it difficult to write about it in English and their primary languages (Mzukisi code-switched). More importantly, both students stated that they would not have minded writing the essay in English, as opposed to their stressing the need to write the essay on praise poetry in their primary languages. The reason for this is that "Description of place " did not involve the use of the concepts used in critical analysis. Mzukisi stated that he had had no problem writing the essay as *"those concepts were not there"*.

4.4.2. Difficult vocabulary of praise poetry

Asking Mzukisi and Nwabisa about writing essays on praise poetry in their primary languages once again raised the issue of the difficult vocabulary that is used in praise poetry. Nwabisa stated:

Well, praise poems use a lot of words that are not used in everyday life, so if I were to write in Sesotho I would gain something as I would have to know and understand these terms. There are some things that you have to emphasize when writing about a praise poem and one just cannot do it in English. You have to explain thoroughly, so the advantage of using my own language is that I would emphasize the things that need to be emphasized.

This time around the difficult vocabulary used in the genre does not bring about a negative effect on the students as was the case in the questionnaire responses. In the interview Nwabisa sees the vocabulary as having potential good, in that it would help her improve her Sesotho.

4.4.3. Difficulty of textual analysis

I asked the three students how they felt about doing a critical analysis which requires them to apply a variety of concepts in analyzing different genres. This question raised the difficulties that students experience with working with the concepts used in critical analyses.

Mbulelo states:

Well the course was interesting, but when it came to having to write essays, I was always worried, not knowing exactly what to write first. Firstly there would be the question, I would try and interpret it first so that it is clear to me and then I would have to apply concepts that I did not clearly understand the meaning of. We had to understand things like visual and verbal interaction which shows that the texts were hard, more especially if English is not your first language. One would then have to consult a dictionary, trying to find the meaning of the difficult terms. This course was the only one that frustrated me out of all the DOH courses. I was passing the other courses. (9)

On asking Nwabisa and Mzukisi about how they felt when they wrote the first essay of the course, "Description of place" the difficult concepts came up again. Mzukisi states:

It was easy writing the essay because those hard concepts were not required

and Nwabisa adds:

To add to what he said...you know those points about genre and stuff, they were a problem. We would listen in the lectures trying hard to understand but at the end we would still not know what "genre" was or what it does exactly. You know I only understood the term genre after three weeks while having to write essays, so I had to go back to the essay and change things. Besides the meaning of the word "genre" is different. You know, if you understand the meaning of genre in a certain way, and then there in the course you have to apply it a different way.

All three students acknowledged that doing critical analysis had its benefits; *it teaches us to look at something in a different way you understand, it really helped, I feel that doing critical analysis has helped me develop because now when I read, I read with questions in mind.* The problem does not really lie with having to do a critical analysis, the problem lies with the difficulty of some of the concepts that they have to use in the process. Their responses point to an opportunity to translate concepts.

4.4.4. The value of opportunities for translation

The interviews revealed the problems that EAL students experience when interpreting essay topics. Mzukisi gave his position on this issue:

You know what, in the last essay on Commodification of Zuluness I first had to look up the meaning of the word 'commodification' because I had not really understood it in the lecture, so as I was saying I had to look it up in the dictionary. If it (topic) had been given to me in Xhosa I would have been able to understand immediately what it means, using the knowledge from the tutorial to guide me. Even though I looked it up in the dictionary, the meaning there was not the same one as that used in the course, so I did not understand it in the way the course wanted us to understand it.

Nwabisa took over where Mzukisi had left off, stating:

Oh that would be great that would be great because like the example that you gave with the word 'commodification' you go to a dictionary to look up the meaning, then you have to take that definition and you apply it to what is being said in the text and you find that you have a problem with showing the exact meaning.

The students referred to the time that they “waste” trying to interpret topics so that they make sense. Reliance on the dictionary in the process of trying to translate essay topics came up frequently in both the questionnaire and interview responses.

4.4.5. Limited participation in tutorials

After having been exposed to all the problems experienced by these students I asked them about how they felt about the possibility of having tutorials where concepts and essay topics would be translated for them. The students responded that they would love to have tutorials of this nature and in the course of the discussion, the problems that they experience in tutorials were given in detail, with language being central. Nwabisa stated:

I usually have a problem in tutorials, you want to ask something in English, firstly you think, okay how am I going to phrase the question, you are still busy planning how to ask it in your head then someone else asks exactly the same question, asking it in the right way, because when you plan to ask the question you first go over it in your head in your own language and then when you rephrase it in English you think, no maan this does not sound right, you have to change it, and in the meantime others are talking about something else. We do have questions we wish we can ask, just because we are sometimes quiet does not mean we understand.

Mzukisi takes this issue further:

In tutorials, tutors give you an article that you do not understand and you first have to think, how am I going to ask this using proper English, you have to search your English to find the proper question. It is really a problem so I think those home language tutorials⁷ would help.

I asked the students whether they felt that praise poetry helps to facilitate their access to the course curriculum. Issues around participation in lectures and tutorials surfaced. Both students did acknowledge that they felt that praise poetry gave them the chance to participate in the course, with Nwabisa summing it thus:

I was reminded of the time when praise poetry was being done. The atmosphere in class, in my lecture was different. I realized that the white students were really interested in this praise poetry and we as Blacks we had something to say, to explain to them. So at least we felt like, okay I belong, because at least there is something that is discussed which belongs to us only and we had to explain to them why we do this and that in praise poetry. You know that praise poem that was done in Xhosa in the lecture, we blacks knew it and understood it. So we were explaining it to those who did not understand the language. So we were participating that time.

Nwabisa's statement highlights the importance of participation in tutorials and in the curriculum. The genre gives them a chance to participate in the course as they are familiar with the language. This familiarity with the language used and with the genre enhanced their participation, as Nwabisa's response suggests. They both stated that they had discussed some of the essays with their friends during the planning process and this had helped them considerably. This indicates that students do use their primary languages as support structures in the learning process, once again highlighting the need of exploring this area more extensively by looking at points of entry in the curriculum where this could be done.

The responses of the interviews indicated a shift in the nature of themes that emerged. While the themes that emerged from the questionnaires pointed to difficulties experienced with the concepts used in the course and with the language used in the praise poem, the themes in the interviews concentrated on participation in the course (tutorials).

⁷ I had asked the students how they would feel if their primary languages were to be used in tutorials to explain concepts. Mzukisi is answering this question when he refers to "those home language tutorials".

An important theme that came up quite strongly in the interviews is that of participation. The questionnaire responses hinted at the issue of participation but did not really address it directly like the interviews do. In the next chapter I shall attempt to account for the following themes which emerged from the data by returning to the theory: the status of English; difficulty of textual analysis; participation in tutorials; identity issues and the contradictory responses towards praise poetry.

CHAPTER 5

INTERPRETATION OF DATA

In the previous chapter I identified a group of themes that emerged from the data yielded by the questionnaires and the interviews. The following themes emerged on language: the status of English and participation in tutorials. The themes emerging on genre were: difficulties with the genre of textual analysis and ambivalence towards the praise poem. The identity issue manifests itself throughout. I will discuss the themes by answering the questions of this research. I will also link the themes to the theoretical concepts that I deal with in the theory chapter.

The question that this research seeks to ask is

Can students' attitudes to language and genre be used in relocating cultural capital in the curriculum?

The above question can be answered by asking the following sub questions:

1. If given the choice, would students prefer to write essays in primary languages?
2. What are students' attitudes to the use of the genre of the praise poem in the curriculum?
3. What text types would students like to see being used more in the TIC course?
4. What are the curriculum implications of presenting more of a choice in genre and language?

I expected clear-cut responses from the students concerning both the language and genre issues. However, what emerged is ambivalence towards both language and genre. What I aim to do in this chapter is to select useful elements from this ambivalence in an attempt to answer the question that this research asks.

5.1 The role of language and genre in relocating cultural capital

5.1.1. The ambivalent stance towards language choice

The students' responses on language preference for academic writing reflected ambivalence towards their primary languages and English. The students who would choose to write in their primary languages and those who ticked "unsure" gave

reasons that indicated that they could have preferred to write in their primary languages but their choices were influenced by the functional use of English at UCT and outside the institution, resulting in them choosing to write in English instead. This group of students is concerned that writing in their primary languages would limit their ability to effectively utilize the educational resources that the course offers (such as analyzing texts successfully for assessment purposes).

One has to consider the multiple and complex roles that the English language plays in individuals' lives, especially in an academic context. Kapp (2000) highlights the role that English plays in determining the status of the language from a non-native speaker's perspective. Second language students are highly motivated when it comes to knowing the language "because of its social currency-its potential to provide access to further education, power and economic resources" (Kapp 2000:237-238). Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1994) discuss the implications of the powerful status of English in countries that have English as a second language. For example, Pearl's response (she would not write in her primary language, opting for English instead) is indicative of the fact that English is held in high regard because of its being associated with social and economic mobility. The reason for the high status of English in community's with second language speakers is evident in Alexander's (1997) statement that; "the language resources that the majority do have are not validated in the market place. In other words the indigenous languages are not accorded a status such that knowing them is of material or social benefit to the speaker outside the relevant speech community itself" (84). The importance attached to English is then reinforced at UCT as English is the language of learning. The students' reasons, therefore, in choosing to write in English comes about as a result of instrumental motivation, seemingly influenced by relations of power, where English is more valued than the indigenous languages. The interviews also highlighted the above issues (status of English as a language synonymous with social mobility). The students' indecisiveness over which language to write in emphasizes the hold that the English language has on academia.

The ambivalence in the students' responses can be traced back to the position in which they are as first year students who have English as a second language. Their first year in an institution of higher learning is characterised by difficulties of trying to adjust to a new academic environment where language is very much a social marker. In an institution like UCT the language that one speaks (and how one speaks that language) is indicative of the type of schooling and class background of the student.

In an attempt to adjust to this environment, students get caught between the sense of solidarity that their primary languages offers and the desire to “belong”, which can be realized through English.

Attitudes towards languages are affected by many factors and they (attitudes) change from one context to the next. One can then ask whether it is of significance to explore students’ language attitudes; attitudes being such a subjective phenomenon? I think that the answer to this lies partly in the nature of this research. This research is a case study, confining itself to a certain time and space. The language attitudes that students show in the course of this research are important and are taken to be a current reflection of the attitudes that students have towards their primary languages and English. Asking the question allows for an in depth exploration of how students perceive language at first year level. Having an idea of why students value one language over another and the nature of the difficulties that they experience with English could be of importance in making the African languages more visible in the learning process for other first year students who might find themselves in the same situation.

Students’ responses also revealed ambivalence towards their primary languages. The questionnaire responses revealed that, for most of the students, expressing themselves clearly in their essays (generally) would be an advantage resulting from writing in their primary languages. Students do state that writing essays in praise poetry in their primary languages would advantage them to a certain extent, the problem would be finding the equivalent terms for the concepts that have to be applied when doing a critical analysis. The interview with Mbulelo also emphasizes this problem. In the interview he stated that he was confident in his ability to write an essay on praise poetry in Xhosa but he would not know how to translate concepts like ‘othering’, ‘identity construction’ and ‘verbal and visual interaction’ (concepts used in the genre of critical analysis) into Xhosa. What also emerges here are the difficulties that students have with using the conceptual framework.

5.1.2. Contradictions in responses on genre (praise poem).

There are contradictions in students’ responses concerning the genre issue. Their responses simultaneously testify to their appreciation of the praise poem and the intimidation they would feel if they were to work with it for assessment purposes. Even though the students are familiar with the praise poem, they are not familiar with

the 'deep' language used in the genre. Gee's (1996) theory of primary and secondary discourses, where he argues that the discourses that one possesses are socioculturally determined, is also evident in the students' responses. They appreciate praise poetry because it gives them a chance to participate in praise poetry performances, as indicated in the lecture on praise poetry. The genre is of symbolic value in that it represents a culture that the students identify with. However, a number of students' responses hinted at a reluctance to write essays based on the praise poem because praise poems use difficult vocabulary and the fact that it belongs to the traditional past. It is not a genre that they encounter in their everyday lives. Gough (2000) brings to light the fact that distinguishing between primary and secondary discourses is universal. There is an awareness of this distinction in every culture and language. He makes reference to Xhosa customs that are seen as forming secondary discourses, praise poetry being one of them. They are secondary because "some degree of specialisation is required to participate in the discourse"(44). The students are aware of praise poetry as a genre that affirms their cultural identity but could be said to be ignorant of the genre's specific use of language. They are merely a part of the audience and even though some of them could have a certain level of knowledge about the workings of praise poetry, their responses show that they do not have the degree of specialisation that would make them comfortable enough to analyze the genre, even if they could do so in their primary languages.

In his thesis on traditional praise poetry, Kuse (1979) states that a text on praise poetry may be interpreted in various ways depending on the clues which the reader or audience may or may not pick up. This is because the *imbongi's* specific intent is "often shrouded in subtlety and ambiguity"(86). It is this use of ambiguity, amongst other factors, that contributes to the complexity of praise poetry as a genre, resulting in students being intimidated by the thought of having to write essays on praise poetry. Students instead chose to work with current texts such as newspaper articles that deal with familiar people and issues, such as Mandela as one student responded.

5.1.3. Difficulty of textual analysis

The data revealed that the students are more intimidated by the genre that they have to produce in (critical analysis) than by the types of texts that they have to work with. The data also foregrounds the awkward experiences of EAL students concerning

their attempts to adjust to the transition from school based literacies to university based literacies when working with different genres. Textual analysis at school is significantly different from the genre of textual analysis in the university. Ballard and Clanchy (1988) emphasize the difference between university culture, which is embedded in particular sets of literacy practices, and the literacy practices at school. For example, the interview with Mbulelo revealed that the relationship between texts and social change was not emphasized in school. Texts were mainly used to develop reading skills and for answering comprehension questions. Mbulelo stated that in school they were given a text on Shaka and were asked to read it and then go to libraries and to read up on more material, with the aim being to find out whether what they had been given was true or not (see Appendix C1). Having to suddenly perform a textual analysis on potentially culturally foreign texts is quite intimidating for these students when they get to the university, as the responses reveal. Genre theorists such as Cope and Kalantzis (1993) call for explicit teaching of the discourses and genres of academic disciplines in order that students who find them alien can gain access to them and have more chances of success. This view is however problematized by Luke (1996) who states that explicit teaching of these genres of power does not guarantee the accessibility of these genres. Explicit teaching of the genres of power is necessary, but it is by no means a simple process.

5.1.4. Polarization

Students seem to be concerned that use of the Shaka texts highlight ethnic and racial differences, resulting in students perceiving themselves to be at opposite ends in terms of racial and ethnic divisions. Rather than instilling a sense of identity in students, the Shaka texts seem to be perceived as emphasizing the difference in students' cultural background, seen by one student as another form of apartheid. Makoni (1989) states that ethnicity can be "over- or undercommunicated", depending on the situation that people find themselves in. The responses of the students indicate that there is an awareness of ethnicity, which is brought about by the environment at UCT where ethnic, racial and class differences are emphasized. Students' social and academic success at UCT depends, to a certain extent, on their ability to acclimatize to the environment and it is more often students who are familiar with UCT culture who succeed. Students' concern about the racial identity of some of the authors who wrote about Shaka (white authors) results in them being skeptical about the authenticity of the texts. The questioning of the participation of White authors could stem from a feeling, on the students' part, that this is an intrusion into a

culture that these White authors are otherwise “ignorant” of. One of the students was concerned about the fact that a White lecturer was giving a lecture on praise poetry and she voiced this concern to the student next to her. This shows students’ assumptions of praise poetry being an “African thing”, hence some students mentioning that they particularly enjoyed Mofolo’s representation of Shaka (Mofolo is an African writer and one of the authors included in the course section “Representing Shaka”). Identity issues also emerged from students’ responses around the texts used in the course, but for different reasons (see “analysis of questionnaires”). Their reasons show EAL students perceive the praise poem as giving them a sense of identity.

5.2. Use of primary language in the research process

The choice to use my multilingual status in the research process could be of significance for researchers doing research on the use of the primary language in the research process. I gave the students the option of writing in their primary languages when answering the questionnaires and this option was extended to the interviews as well. As this research addresses issues around language choice I felt that giving students the option of writing in their languages would make the choice issue more of a reality for them. I was also interested in finding out how students would respond to the option I had presented to them. Would there be any difference in the way they expressed themselves in their primary languages as opposed to when writing in English? I did not set out to analyze the use of the primary languages in the research process but it emerged as an issue. There was a difference in the responses of the students who code-switched when responding in their primary languages as opposed to English and I felt that it would be important to comment on the differences.

The fact that I was able to gain access to certain issues that students discussed in the questionnaires and the interviews could have been due to my identity. Having Xhosa as a first language and being black could have affected the way in which the students responded to the questions and the extent to which they felt comfortable discussing issues which they might not have felt comfortable doing in other circumstances. The students’ responses were, amongst other things, centered on their racial and ethnic identities where students mentioned lecturers’ racial identities and their own. These particular responses make up an important part of the research

in that they give an insight into the way that students perceive themselves in a diverse environment like UCT.

5.3. General conclusions

To the question "If given the choice, would students prefer to write essays in their primary languages"? the following interpretation can be deduced from the data. The responses from the first questionnaire were more or less equally distributed among the categories and in the second questionnaire the number of students who chose to write in their primary language is slightly higher than the students who would not write in their languages. It is worth noting here that the number of students who would NOT choose to write in their primary languages in both questionnaires is slightly less than the number of students who would choose to write in their primary languages. However, the fact that more students would choose to write in their primary languages is of importance for purposes of this research. This research explores ways of making the curriculum accessible to EAL students by tapping into the language resources that these students possess. Therefore, the fact that students do find their primary languages useful in an academic context becomes useful information in the process of facilitating access by using students' primary languages in the learning process. Students would be in a position to use their cultural capital in working with texts as they would be actively using their primary languages in the learning process. In order to find out whether there was any re-valuing happening, one would have to find out whether there was any marked improvement in students' writing when using their primary languages as opposed to using English.

One of the research questions asks students about the genres that they would prefer to work with in the course. After reviewing the data and coming up with the necessary interpretations, I have come to the conclusion that the EAL students doing the DOH 101F course do appreciate the fact that texts on praise poetry form a part of the curriculum as it has a positive impact on students' identity construction and it allows them to make use of their cultural capital, as was the case in tutorials, where the African students were explaining the workings of the genre to other students. The genre also provided an opportunity for white students to be exposed to the genre and therefore to possibly value it differently. Students would be in a position to appreciate the genre more if the academic discourse that goes hand in hand with the analysis of different genres is taught explicitly, with the primary languages of the students used to explain and define concepts and key words. The texts on Shaka

Zulu and praise poetry are not, in themselves, altogether intimidating to the EAL students; what intimidates them is the way they are expected to work with these texts, which is different from the way they worked with and perceived texts in high school. It goes back to emphasizing the importance of the explicit teaching of the conventions of academic discourses and academic literacy. The course's use of texts that aim at encouraging effective utilization of cultural capital cannot be realized if the conventions of academic discourses are not demystified.

The majority of the students wrote that they would choose to write about praise poetry in their primary languages, as they felt that doing so would facilitate access to the curriculum (in terms of being active participants in the utilization of texts). Students feel that an advantage of writing in their primary languages is that they would be better able to express themselves. However, in this case, issues of access cannot afford to be isolated from the bigger picture, which is making accessible the conventions of academic discourse in a language that the students feel comfortable with. If students acquired the specialised literacy practices involved in the genre of textual analysis they could be better equipped to work with genres in the curriculum. If students' primary languages were to be used to explain concepts, students could come to recognize their primary languages as a resource, as they would have access to their languages in the learning process. In the following chapter I shall conclude by exploring the implications that the data yielded by this research would have on the curriculum and also make recommendations for further research.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The research seeks to explore whether EAL students involved in the course would choose to write in their primary languages if they were given the choice to do so. The research also explores their attitudes towards the praise poem as a genre that has the potential to facilitate their access to the course curriculum. In the previous chapter I gave an interpretation of the data, where I laid out the main issues that emerged in the data. Since a higher proportion of EAL students would choose to write in their primary languages, I explore the implications of using their languages in the learning process. This chapter explores the implications that the students' responses to the genres used in the course would have on the curriculum.

6.1. Implications of using primary languages in the learning process

In the introduction I stated that this research does not aim at changing the language policy at UCT. Rather it explores effective ways of using African languages to benefit EAL students in the learning process so as to bring substance to the aim of acknowledging multilingualism. UCT's language policy acknowledges multilingualism but English is still very much regarded as the language of learning. Giving students access to their languages when working with different genres could at least be a positive step in ensuring effective utilization of their cultural capital as they would be writing about something that they are culturally familiar with, with their primary languages used as support structures. Giving students' the option of using their primary languages for assessment purposes could have implications for assessment policies, as most of the staff members are first language speakers. I think that presenting this option to students would necessitate an exploration of the long-term effects that would come about as a result of presenting this option for assessment purposes.

6.1.1. Translation of essay topics

Giving students access to their languages would mean that students would have essay topics made available to them in their primary languages, or at least have first

language speakers of African languages available to translate and explain essay topics for them. Only four students managed to successfully decode question seven (7) in the second questionnaire on praise poetry (see Appendix B). This brings into question the ability of second language speakers to successfully interpret essay questions in a way that enhances their understanding of the topic requirements. If students do not understand what the topic requires of them, then it means that a weak performance is inevitable, reflecting poorly on their essay writing abilities.

Kapp in Angelil-Carter (ed.) (1998:21) states:

Black students are not objecting to English as a medium of instruction, but to the way in which English acts as a social marker and gatekeeper which effectively excludes those for whom it is an additional language from full participation in the institution.

The responses from the students are reflective of the above statement. They do not want to alienate themselves from the English language as they are aware of its instrumental importance. They could, however, benefit from a situation where African languages are used to explain the central concepts used in foundation courses, ideally in tutorials or workgroups. Towards the end of the course one student was still confused as to what the term “critical analysis” meant, interpreting it literally to mean that there was something wrong with the text.

6.1.2. Use of African languages in support services

The institution should acknowledge and encourage the positive aspects of code-switching in workgroups and in other services such as the Writing Centre, where code-switching can be used “to act as a support to guide interpretation of the new discourse” (Kapp in Angelil-Carter, 1998:30) in a language that students understand. Making the African language accessible to students in the learning process could advantage them as far as having access to the curriculum. Students could potentially be better equipped to work with the texts used in the course, as they would have concepts explained to them in more accessible languages. They could then participate in the interpretation of essay topics as opposed to settings where only English is used. Having the African languages made accessible would mean that the linguistic capital of EAL students is utilized, rather than students feeling that their multilingual status does not serve to benefit them in academia.

6.2. Curriculum implications

The data on the genre issue raised rather complex issues around praise poetry and the other genres used in the course. The research initially set out to explore whether praise poetry could be used as a genre that would serve to facilitate EAL students' access to the course curriculum and to validate EAL students' cultural capital. The students' responses showed that they do perceive the praise poem as being of symbolic value but not necessarily serving the purpose of facilitating access. The genre works well as it is, but it would not work as well if it were to be used for assessment purposes because of its complex discourse and the fact that they would have to make use of the analytical framework used in the course to analyze the genre. The conceptual framework used presents challenges to most of the students because of the concepts that have to be used. In light of this, the use of praise poetry in the curriculum would not necessarily serve the purpose that it would be intended for, which is to give EAL students the opportunity to work with a genre that can facilitate access to the curriculum.

In order for praise poetry to be of symbolic value, (Bourdieu' sense of the term) in the sense that it would serve to validate the students' cultural capital, the students would have to be familiar with the workings of praise poetry and be in a position to work comfortably with it, which they are not in a position to do, as revealed by the data. One also has to consider the challenges that would come along with the inclusion of such a genre in the curriculum. How would the course material be chosen? How would the students be expected to work with praise poetry -would they have to apply the analytical framework to the poem? Would the fact that most lecturers would not necessarily have the expertise needed to work with the genre impact negatively on its inclusion? All these questions suggest that the inclusion of praise poetry for assessment in the curriculum could pose challenges that would not necessarily be easy to resolve.

Exploring the potential of the praise poem in validating EAL students' cultural capital raised issues around the importance of participation. The data showed the extent to which the use of culturally familiar genres like the praise poem enable students to actively participate in the course, to make use of their cultural capital. The data also raised complications around Gough's (2000) stating the need to include other secondary discourses in the curriculum. These secondary discourses might allow the students to participate in one way or the other, as was the case with the praise

poem, but they might not necessarily serve to facilitate access to the curriculum because of the way students are expected to work with them in the course.

6.3. Recommendations for further research

The research points to a need for more research to be conducted on exploring genres that do have the potential to facilitate access to curricula in foundation courses. Texts that deal with current issues that students are familiar with are ideal, as students might be familiar with the discourse used. These texts could range from television programs that are popular among students to texts that deal with socio-political issues in South Africa, issues that students might be familiar with. Since participation emerged as one of the themes, it is important that the genres used in the course be tested as to whether they would facilitate EAL students' participation in the curriculum.

Making the African languages accessible to students in the learning process is one way of addressing the issue of meaningful access to literacy resources. As the languages that the students speak form an integral part of their cultural capital, it is worth exploring how their use in the learning process helps to facilitate meaningful access. Using African languages in the learning process brings up questions around the implications that this would have for first language speakers. Would an effective use of the African languages necessitate separate courses for EAL students or would that serve to polarize students further? These questions suggest that the implications of using African languages in the learning process would not be simple ones and would therefore need to be explored.

Giving students the option of using their primary languages in the research process added authenticity to my data and revealed interesting issues on language use, for example the differences in the way students express themselves when using their primary languages as opposed to when they write in English. It would be worthwhile to do a more in depth study into the use of the mother tongue in the research process to explore if and how its use influences the research process.

The transition from school to the university and the difficulties experienced during this transition is an issue that emerged from the data. There is a need for more research to be conducted into how students could be better prepared for working with the genres that they will encounter at tertiary level and how to feedback the findings to

schools. If students are exposed to a range of text types at an early stage they could be less intimidated by the textual analysis that they encounter at tertiary level.

This research set out to address the potential roles of language and genre in relocating cultural capital in the TIC course. What emerged in terms of the difficulties that students encounter highlights the challenges that they are faced with in academic settings as second language speakers; challenges which will continue to be a cause for concern among these students if issues around access are not given top priority in foundation course curricula, especially among a diverse student population such as that of UCT.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE 1

1. Please state your name and surname

.....

2. What is your home language(s)? Please list them if you have more than one home language.

.....

3. Would you choose to write an academic essay in your home language if given the choice? Please tick one of the following:

y	n	U
---	---	---

Y=yes n=no u=unsure

4. Explain your answer to number 3. Your answer to this question may be written in either your home language or English, depending on your preference.

[illegible]

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

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.....

.....

.....

.....

Thank you for your cooperation!!

[illegible]

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

5. Would you choose to write an essay based on praise poetry in your primary language if given a choice? Please tick one of the following:

Y	N	U
---	---	---

Y=yes N=no U=unsure

6. Explain your answer to number 5. Your answer to this question may also be written in either your primary language or English, depending on your preference

This image shows a full page of white paper with horizontal dotted lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page, providing a guide for handwriting practice. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the page.

7. Are there any text types that you would like to see being used more in the DOH course? Please explain why.

[illegible]

PLEASE BRING THE QUESTIONNAIRE WITH YOU TO ROCHELLE AND STELLA'S CLASSES ON THURSDAY. I WILL COLLECT IT FROM YOU THEN. THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Please state your name and surname

.....

2. What is your home language(s)? Please list them down if you have more than one home language.

XHOSCI

3. Would you choose to write in your home language if given the choice? Please tick one of the following:

y	n	U
---	---	---

Y=yes n=no u=unsure

4. Explain your answer to number 3. Your answer to this question may be written in either your home language or English, depending on your preference.

I have chosen no, Firstly although I know that white students have advantage because its their first language but I prefer english because by writing ^{assays} using english is the way of practising and I believe that educated people must know how to use english because in our communities we as Xhosa's we take educated people as people who know English very well, so my choice to use english is not that I want to change to be someone else or I knew it, no its not that, it is only that I want to be educated person who is fluent in english but not forgetting that if I was using my home language in writing an essay I would have done better.

[illegible]

FEEL FREE TO CONTINUE TO NEXT PAGE

QUESTIONNAIRE

Feel free to use either your primary language or English or both (English and primary language) when answering this questionnaire.

1. Please state your name and surname

.....

2. What is your primary language(s). If you have more than two primary languages please list them down.

Zulu

3. Are you enjoying the case study focus on "Representations of Shaka" more than the previous texts used in the course? Please tick one of the following and explain your answer

Yes ☒

yes, a lot

not really

unsure

~~Because it is about someone~~
~~Richard a knowledge about I know the~~
~~history of Zulu~~

Yingoba I text ikhuluma ngomuntu engake-
ngakwa ngaye ngake ngafunda ngomla-
ndo wakhe and Okunye ukuthi I'm
a Zulu and I know I-culture
yamaZulu okuyingxenye ye-text of Representa-
tion of Shaka.

4. Do you think it is a good idea to write an essay on praise poetry? Please explain your answer.

Cha. Ngoba Ipraise poem is a oral
thing so kuzobanzi kithina ukuthi
si si analyse into oral kodwa yi written
text. kuzofanele sicabenge ngombongo ukuthi
kambe lagoka kamani how did he move.
kufanele sicabenge ukuthi kambe mkosi
be ing kuphi ngakathi kuyombongi yibongela
and on top of that we have to analyse
ukuthi kambe yona le praise poem what
message does it trying to convey to us. Futhi
okunye kuzofanele etc si critique of
which is very difficult.

PLEASE TURN OVER

5. Would you choose to write an essay on praise poetry in your primary language if given a choice? Please tick one of the following:

Y✓	N	U
----	---	---

Y=yes N=no U=unsure

6. Explain your answer to number 5. Your answer to this question may also be written in either your primary language or English, depending on your preference

Ngoba uma ngibhala ngesiZulu ngizokwazi ukuthi ngisho konke engifunda ukukusho kanti uma ngibhala ngenye iLanguage kuzobanzima ngoba kufanele ngala ngabanye ukuthi konje igama elihle lichazi. Ukuthi mina ngokwami angikwazi ukuzi expressor kahle if ngibhala ngenye iLanguage because I'm not good at that language so if ngabhalwa i-essay maybe ngesiZulu ngizokwazi ukuzi expressor ngalindlela engifuna ukuzi expressor ngayo. Ngabhalwa konke engikwazi yo, ngikhiphe ingonyuluka yakho.

7. Are there any text types that you would like to see being used more in the DCH course? Please explain why.

Yebo, indlela amagama atsethenziwe ngayo, kuvele kusetshenziswe amagama okuqinisekisa, adinga idictionary so uvele ungakwazi ukuthi konje le text ikhuluma ngani, so if kungabhalwa nge English a essay and straight maybe singa kuzi ukuthi una si understand kangoko.

PLEASE BRING THE QUESTIONNAIRE WITH YOU TO ROCHELLE AND STELLA'S CLASSES ON THURSDAY. I WILL COLLECT IT FROM YOU THEN. THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

Xolile

3. Yes, the text focuses on a man that I heard about and know a lot about. I have studied Shaka's history in school and I am familiar with stuff, like his origins for example. The other thing is that I am a Zulu person and I know the culture of the Zulu people, which is the main focus of this part of Text in Contexts (Representation of Shaka).
4. No, because praise poetry is an oral thing so it becomes difficult to analyze something (written text) that is originally meant to be an oral text. We have to consider the attire of the poet, where the king is likely to be standing during the performance. On top of that we have to figure out the message that this praise poem is trying to convey to us. Furthermore we will have to criticize (critical analysis?) of which is very difficult. (and that is very difficult)
6. When I write in Zulu, I say all that I want to say fairly easy. However if I have to use another language (English?) it is difficult because I first have to think carefully about the meanings of terms that I want to use. I end up not expressing myself as I would have liked to simply because I am not good at that language. So if I was allowed to write my essays in Zulu, I would be able to express myself clearly, and I would be able to write everything that I know about a topic.
7. Yes, the current texts use very difficult English. The terms used or always require one to consult a dictionary

APPENDIX C1

Interview 1

M= Mbulelo (DOH 101f student)

B= Bongi (researcher)

B: Mbuyiselo you filled in two questionnaires for me, do you still feel the same way about the issues that I questioned you about? Remember, you stated that you would choose to write essays on praise poetry in your primary language, Xhosa. Do you still feel that you would prefer to write in Xhosa?

M: Yes, there is a change, I could say there is a change

M: ja ndingatsho ndithi ikhona into etshintshileyo

B: What exactly has changed?

B: Yintoni kanye kanye etshintshileyo?

M: Well there has been an improvement in my vocabulary, my vocabulary has developed. I understand some English terms better now.

M: Ivocabulary yam iexpandile, like zikhona itersms apha esiNgesini endizi understanda ngcono ngoku

B: So what does that mean, how would that change your answer?

B: So ithetha ntoni loo nto, itshintshe njani ke ianswer yakho?

M: My answer has changed, I think I would attempt to write the essay in English now. When I have finished my third year, I will have to speak English. English is very important.

M: Hayi, ndingazama ukubhala ngeEnglish ngoku, kuba xa ndigqiba ithird year kuzakufuneka ndithethe iEnglish.

B: About the lectures on praise poetry, how did you feel during those lectures?

B: Eza lectures zepraise poetry, waziva njani ngokuya kwakusenziwa ipraise poetry?

M: Oh, I enjoyed the lectures, especially the ones dealing with praise poetry

M: Oh, ndazithanda kakhulu ilectures isikakhulu eziya zepraise poetry

B: Why did you enjoy those lectures, was there any specific reason?

B: Yintoni into eyakwenza ukuba uzithande ezalectures?

M: It is because they were dealing with praise poetry, I know about praise poetry and I am familiar with the type of language the lecturer was using... But the thing I noticed is that the Black lecturer did not really go into the specifics of praise poetry. The White lecturer was superb (laughs); it was a good lecture because he explained things like the functions of praise poetry.

M: Kuba zazinge praise poetry, into endiyaziyo, kwaye ndiyayazi ilanguage esetyenziswayo kwipraise poetry. Kodwa into endayiqaphelayo kukuba la lecturer yomntu omnyama zange icacise kakhulu ngepraise poetry. Le yomlungu yona was superb, kuba yachaza ifunctions zepraise poetry, so ilecture yayiright.

B: What about the curriculum's use of texts on Shaka and praise poetry, do you feel that you had more access to the curriculum through the use of these texts. Did the texts give you a better chance of being able to analyzing them?

M: Not really, because the texts talk about things from the olden days and that is not really interesting. It would be better if we were given newspaper articles to analyze, for instance the paper we wrote on Monday was interesting, we had to write about a newspaper, you see that's interesting, it is something I know and can see the controversy in. The Shaka texts are from way back and the language used in these texts is difficult and boring, the words are difficult.

B: So it is the Shaka texts that you found boring. What about praise poetry?

M: The praise poetry was okay, but in the Shaka texts one would find that everything had been discovered there, there was nothing new that we could say, everything that happened to Shaka has already been written down by many people. That makes it boring.

B: Critical analysis, how do you feel about that?

B: Ufilisha njani ngokwenza icritical analysis?

M: I do not like it that much because the concepts are not really explained clearly, the way they explain them is not clear to me. I usually feel that I have not really done a good critical analysis on a text, I have not really criticized the text because the concepts are really difficult to apply. It's worse if the text is one that I am not familiar with. I feel that the concepts are not really defined clearly, one has to consult the dictionary all the time trying to find words like "authenticity".

M: hayi andiyithandi kuba eza concepts azicaciswa, indlela eziexplainwa ngayo ayicacanga. Ndiye ndifilishe ukuba andenzanga icritical analysis egood kuba kunzima ukusebenzisa eza concepts, kube worse ukuba itext ithetha ngento endingayiqhelanga. Ndifilisha ukuba iconcepts azicaciswa kakuhle, kufuneka usoloko ujonga amagama kwidictionary, amagama afana no "authenticity"

B: Has the fact that you would choose to write in...wait a minute, by the way you changed you would now choose to write in English...

M: (laughs) I think I would write in Xhosa eventually

M: Ja ndingabhala ngesiXhosa

B: Would your choosing to write in Xhosa be influenced by the fact that you would be writing about praise poetry?

B: Ungakhetha ukubhala ngesiXhosa kuba ubhala ngepraise poetry?

M: Yes, I would choose to write in Xhosa because I am familiar with Zulu culture and it would be easier to express myself and to write all the things I know that have to do with praise poetry in my language.

M: Ewe, kuba ndiyazi ngeculture yamaZulu ngoko ke kungalula ukusebenzisa ulwimi lwam ndibhala ngento endiyaziyo.

B: So you would choose to write in Xhosa?

B: So ungakhetha ukubhala ngesiXhosa?

M: Yes I would choose to write in Xhosa, I am sure now. But then it would be difficult to find the equivalents of the concepts that we have to use in critical analysis, it would be difficult translating them into Xhosa.

M: Ewe, ndingakhetha ukubhala ngesiXhosa, ndiqinisekile ngoku. Kodwa ke kunganzima ukufumana amagama esiXhoseni aminisha (meaning) into enye neziconcepts zecritical analysis, kunganzima ukuzitransleyta kwisiXhosa.

B: Are you aware of the different genres in the course?

B: Uaware ukuba kusetyenziswa igenres ezohlukileyo apha kule course?

M: Yes, that means texts that portray things in different ways (noise in background)... Some texts talk about things that are here that one needs to criticize.

M: Ewe, zii texts eziportraya izinto in different ways.

B: How do you feel about critical analysis?

B: Ufilisha njani ngecritical analysis?

M: I feel that doing critical analysis has helped me develop because now when I read newspapers I do not just read, I read with questions in mind, criticizing it. We are told that headlines can show the author's point of view. So I feel that doing critical analysis has helped me although it is very difficult to do.

M: Ndifilisha ukuba indinceda ekudevelopeni kuba ngoku xa ndifunda inewspaper, I do not just read, I read with questions in mind, criticizing it. Saxelelwa ukuba iheadlines zibonisa iauthor's point of view. So indincedile nangona inzima nje.

B: Now that the course has come to an end, what can you say about it?

B: Njengokuba icourse iphelile, ungathini ngayo?

M: Well the course was interesting, but when it came to having to write essays, I was always worried, not knowing what exactly to write at first. Firstly there would be the question, I would have to try and interpret it first so that it is clear to me and then I would have to apply concepts that I did not clearly understand the meanings of. We had to understand things like visual and verbal interaction, which shows that the texts were hard, more especially if English is not your first language. One would then always have to consult the dictionary, trying to find the meanings of the difficult terms. This course was the only one that frustrated me out of all the DOH courses. I was passing the other courses.

M: Well, icourse yona yayinika umdla, kodwa ukubhala iessays kwakunzima kuba ndingazi ukuba ndibhale ntoni. Ukuqala kumbuzo, bendiye ndiqale ngokuzicacisela ukuze icace kum, then kufuneke ndiplaye iconcepts endingaziunderstandiyo. Bekufuneka sazi izinto ezinje nge visual and verbal interaction, loo nto ibonisa ukuba itexts bezinzima, is'kakhulu ukuba iEnglish is not your first language. Kufuneke ukuba umntu asebenzise idictionary, efuna ukwazi ukuba la magama athetha ntoni na. Le course yeyona eyandifrustratayo kuzo zonke ezicourse zeDOH. Ndandizipasa ezinye iicourse.

B: Why was this particular course frustrating you?

B: Yintoni ebikufrustreyta kule course?

M: We are always analyzing, all the time and you find that the text being analyzed is not at all interesting. The ones on Shaka were really boring me.

M: Le nto yokusoloko si-analyza oko, ufumanise ukuba le text ianalyzwayo ayiniki mdla. Ezi zikaShaka bezindidika mpela.

B: more than the other texts?

B: Ngaphezulu kwezinye iitexts?

M: Yes, because we are told of many authors who said this and that, but I really liked the newspaper articles because I knew what was being talked about.

M: Ewe, kuba sixelelwa ukuba le author yathi nale yathi, kodwa mna ndithanda iinewspaper articles because ndiyazi ukuba kuthethwa ngantoni.

B: So you are saying that the authors did not write interesting things about Shaka?

M: Yes, even in class this other day I was talking to these white students and I discovered that they also find the Shaka texts boring and they also were not interested in the course, they just wanted to pass, they were also frustrated with the course and I also thought that it was frustrating.

M: Ewe, kwenye ilecture ndandithetha nezinye iwhite students, nazo zithi ewe ziyabhora iiShaka texts futhi abanamdla kule course, bafuna ukuyipasa kuba iyafrastreyta. Nam ndangqina ndathi ewe iyafrastreyta.

B: Did the White students specifically say that they found the Shaka texts boring?

M: Yes, we were having a discussion this other day and they said that the texts are boring and I thought to myself that they are telling the truth, the texts are boring because we are looking at Zulu culture, everything that has to do with Zulu culture.

M: Ewe, sasithetha ngale course bathi itexts ziyabhora ndabe nam ndiqonda ukuba ewe ziyabhora kuba zithetha ngeculture yamaZulu, yonke into enokwenza neculture yabo.

B: Do you have a problem with the fact that the course addresses a specific culture?

B: Uyibona iyingxaki ukuba icourse iaddressa iculture enye?

M: Yes, I would prefer texts that are more general, even the White students said it would be better if the Shaka texts were taken out.

M: Ewe, kungangcono ukuba itexts bezigeneral, even newwhite students zathi kungangcono ukuba zingakutshwa.

B: Would you choose to write about praise poetry in Xhosa or in English?

B: Ungakhetha ukubhala ngepraise poetry ngesiXhosa okanye ngeEnglish?

M: I would choose to write in my home language because I am familiar with Xhosa praise poetry, it is part of my culture.

M: Ndingakhetha ukubhala ngesiXhosa kuba ndifamiliar nepraise poetry kuba yiculture yam.

B: So are you glad that it was part of the course or would you have preferred not to do it?

B: So ke uyavuya ukuba ipraise poetry iyipart yecourse okanye ubungakhetha ukungayenzi?

M: No, I enjoyed doing it, but the course really frustrated me. Having to critically analyze all the time, even if something does not really need to be criticized, and then you end up being too critical.

M: Hayi bendiyi-enjoya kodwa le course indifrustreytile yona. Le nto yokusoloko ucritical, nokuba into ayifuni ukucritisayizwa and then ufumanise ukuba ucritical qqitha.

B: So does that mean that you find critical analysis unnecessary?

B: So ke loo nto ithetha ukuba icritical anlysis awuyiboni inecessary?

M: No, it is a good thing. You get to find things like point of view and bias in the text, it's just that it is a difficult thing to do.

M: Hayi, irlight. Umntu uyakwazi ukubona izinto ezifana nepoint of view and bias kwitext, qha ke ndithi inzima.

B: Have the Shaka texts helped you improve on your essay writing?

B: liShaka texts zikuncedile eku-improveni iessays zakho?

M: I can't say...well in a way they have helped me because at least I know now how to present different authors' views. I know how Shaka is represented and what was happening in the past. I think it helped that the texts were on Shaka

M: Andinokutsho... well ndingathi zindincedile because ngoku ndiyakwazi ukupresenta different authors' views. Ndiyayazi ukuba uShaka urepresented njani nezinto ezenzeke kwipast. So I think incedile into yokuba itexts zibe ngoShaka.

B: Why?

B: Ngoba?

M: Because at least I have heard of him before, I am familiar with his doings.

M: Ngoba ndakhe ndeva ngoShaka, ndiyazazi izinto awazenzayo.

B: Last question- what were you required to do with texts in high school, how did you analyze them?

B: Umbuzo wokugqibela – nanizenza ntoni iitexts esikolweni, nanisebenza njani nazo?

M: Okay, we were given a text, for example in our History class we were given a text on Mfecane and told to research it, to find out whether the things written down were really true, did they really happen or not. We would only read the texts for exam purposes.

M: Okay, sasinikwa itext , umzekelo kwiclass yeHistory sanikwa itext on iMfecane kwathiwa masenze iresearch, siphande ukuba izinto ezazibhalwe phaya zenzeka nyhani na. Iitexts sasizifunda for iexams kuphela.

B: What about in the English classes?

B: Kwiiclass zeEnglish?

M: We were never told anything about analyzing, we would read the texts in class and then answer questions, you know –comprehension questions. This analysis is totally new to me.

M: Zange sixelelwe nto nge-analysis, sasifunda iitexts for ukuphendula imibuzo yecomprehension. Le nto ye-analysis intsha kum.

APPENDIX C2

Commodification of Zulu and Zuluness

- Before ndingigale ukuyibhala le-essay, ndinengxaki ngokeyi-structure kwayo. I did not know where to start or on how to tackle the question. I started by finding genre and the audience. I planned the essay correctly but my mistake was to underline concepts which made the essay not to be coherent. Lucia questioned me about the lack of coherence in my essay. Although the topic of the essay was not tricky, my problem was I did not know on how to apply these the concepts of this course. Because I find everything in the series and in the texts about Shaka very straightforward, is the way it is, so I did not know what to criticize or analyse. The topic of the essay was very nice because it's all commercialisation of Zulu and Zuluness. I find it very interesting when I had to analyse commodification of Zulu in referring to the Shaka Zulu series. I really enjoy the film because it portrays the Zulus dressing their traditional attires, warriors with barefooted and singing and dancing. It represents African heritage and primitive Zulu traditions. The film arouses feelings more especially if you are Zulu, you might ~~about~~ boast about your nation because it used to be ~~bro~~ famous and brave.

- I think it's the last essay that I really enjoy writing it despite the fact that I ha

a problem in terms of structuring it, ~~an~~
where to start, coherence and cohesion
and on how to apply the concepts that we
have been taught. Another thing is that I
find the Shaka Zulus series innocent wh
makes difficult to ~~a~~ critical analyse it.

APPENDIX D1

Interview 2

B = Bongi (researcher) ; M = Mzukisi ; N = Nwabisa

B: Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this interview. Okay, before we begin, let me remind you of the responses you wrote in the questionnaires. Nwabisa, you wrote that you would prefer to write in English, both for the general essay and for the praise poem. Mzukisi you said you would choose to write in your own language isiXhosa. Would you still give the same responses that you gave in your questionnaires?

N: Yes I think I would choose the same answer

M: I am very sure I have not changed my views, I would still prefer to write in my own language.

M: Ja ndisure, ndingakhetha ukubhala ngesiXhosa

B: and would you give the same reasons?

B: *Unganika eza zizathu uzinike kuqala?*

M: Yes, I still would

B: Nwabisa? Would you also give the same reasons for preferring to write in English, or would you give the same answer but different reasons?

N: Please remind me of the reasons I gave

B: you wrote that one has to be fluent in English as it is the language used at UCT

N: oh I remember now, yes I still feel that way

B: Do you remember the very first essay that you wrote in the course, where you had to describe a place. How did you feel about writing that essay?

N: It was a bit hard because I wrote it in Sesotho first, but I wanted to use proper Sesotho and my Sesotho is not proper. I had to go to someone and ask what a particular word is in Sesotho. I wanted to use the Sesotho used in books so it was a little bit hard in that respect otherwise it was fine.

B: Mzukisi?

M: I did not have a problem at all, in fact it was the one essay that I enjoyed writing, it was the one that was the most easy

M: *Andizange ndibenangxaki,yeyona essay endayi-enjoyayo ukuyibhala*

B: Why was it easy?

M: well, it was simple and straight -forward. You just had to write about a place, there were no rules

M: *Yayi simple and straight forward, ubhala nje ngendawo oyithandayo, azikho irules*

B: what language did you write it in?

B: wayibhala ngeyiphi ilanguage?

M: I mixed, used both English and Xhosa

M: Ndasebenzisa zombini, isiXhosa neEnglish

B: Nwabisa did you write it in Sesotho only or-?

N: I do not think I mixed, you see I don't really remember the place I wrote about but my essay included a short poem but I had a problem because there are words that that have to be emphasized and I did not know how to do that

B: Okay so you wrote in Sesotho, what effect do you think writing in Sesotho had concerning your writing?

N: well, it did help, it was easy putting the essay together

B: what about if you had written the essay in English?

N: I do not think there would be any problem as it was quite a simple essay.

B: Okay, what about writing about a praise poem? In your questionnaire response you said you would use English to write about a praise poem. What do you think would be the use of writing in Sesotho, if any?

N: well, praise poems use a lot of words that are not used in everyday life, so if I were to write in Sesotho I would gain something as I would first have to know and understand these terms. I would not be able to write it on my own. I would have to go to someone and say okay here is a sentence, how do I phrase it to fit a praise poem so there can be rhythm.

B: oh no, you would not have to write your own praise poem you would be given one to analyze, you know the sort of analyzing you did in the course

N: oh okay I get you now. Well you know there are some things that you have to emphasize when writing about a praise poem and one just cannot do it in English. You have to explain thoroughly, so the advantage of using my own language is that I would emphasize the things that need to be emphasized

B: please give me an example of one of the things that would need emphasis

N: there are a lot, I cannot think of a good example to give, oh okay rhyme is one example. There are other terms used that cannot be explained in English

B: Mzukisi what do you think?

M: I would write it in Xhosa the best, as she has just said, using your own language helps you to write exactly what you want. Using English would result in problems because you would use a term thinking that it clearly explains what you want to say, only to find that it is wrong

M: Ndingayibhala ngesiXhosa kuba xa usebenzisa ilanguage yakho uyakwazi ukubhala kanye le nto ifunekayo. Ukusebenzisa iEnglish kungenza ingxaki kuba

ungasebenzisa iterm ucinga ukuba ichaza le nto ufuna ukuyichaza kanti uyisebenzise wrong.

B: how did you find go about planning the essay on Description of place? Is there any specific thing that you remember?

N: okay, I first had to think of a place to write about and then think about the structure, what place it would be and what I would say about it

B: was it difficult planning the essay?

N: no not at all, it was easy, I was simply writing about a place.

B: Mzukisi?

M: as I said before it was easy writing the essay because those hard concepts were not required

M: Njengokuba benditshilo bekulula ukuyibhala le essay kuba eza terms bezingekho

B: Why do you think praise poetry is part of the course?

N: to make people understand what praise poetry is all about- the Zulu praise poem that we looked at used such difficult words, even the Zulu students did not know what they meant. You know what, if we were to be given a praise poem written in English and were then allowed to use our own languages to analyze it, I think we would have so much to say

B: ok, interesting, but why do you say that the praise poem should be in English?

N: because that would be quite a lot of work if the praise poem was made available in all languages, it would take up a lot of time. English is short, one cannot really explain things thoroughly.

M: yes...

B: Mzukisi why do you think praise poetry is used in the course?

M: I think to look at other cultures, ja

B: do you remember the essay on "Commodification of Zuluness"? Did you discuss it with a friend before writing it?

M: yes, you know Siyabonga? (B: yes I do) ja. I discussed it with him and a group of other guys from the course

M: Ja , uyamqonda uSiyabonga? Ndayidiscussa naye nabanye esenza nabo icourse

B: using what language?

B: nithetha eyiphi ilanguage?

M: Xhosa of course, you know what I discovered, when we were discussing an essay topic we had a lot of good ideas, but when it came to writing it down on paper in English we experienced problems, especially with all those terms which we do not understand, like genre and juxtaposition. But when we were discussing it in xhosa it was fine but having to apply those terms... anyway discussing it in Xhosa did help me

M: IsiXhosa of course, uyazi into endayiqaphelayo, ngoku si-discussayo sasine-ideas ezinintsi, kodwa xa kufuneka sizibhale phantsi sibenengxaki, is'kakhulu ekusebenziseni eza terms like genre and juxtaposition. So ukuyi-discussa ngesiXhosa kwanceda.

N: to add to what he just said...you know those points about genre and stuff, they were a problem. We would listen in the lectures trying hard to understand but at the end we would still not know what genre was or what it does exactly. We could have been given a lecture like.. you know I only understood the term genre after three weeks while having to write essays, so I had to go back to the essay and change things. Besides the meaning of the word genre is different. You know, if you understand the meaning of genre in a certain way, and then there in the course you have to apply it in a certain way.

B: Nwabisa, Mzukisi just said that he discussed the essay on the commodification of Zuluness with friends. Did you discuss it with anyone and if you did what language did you use?

N: Well you see in my lecture group I don't have anyone who speaks Sesotho, but then I got together with someone and we discussed it in Xhosa. It was okay but like Mzukisi said, though talking it out was fine, writing it down was a problem.

B: okay I understand your problem of having to discuss in Xhosa and then write in English, but do you feel that it is useful to have a part in the planning process where you can actually use your own languages to assist you

N: oh yes definitely it is very useful

M: I think so too, because it helps us understand things better

M: Nam ndicinga njalo kuba iyasanceda ekuqondeni izinto kakuhle

N: Ja, for example if like, we are talking about genre and I really don't understand it and am applying it differently and the person I am discussing it with does, she can explain it to me in Xhosa or Sesotho, using examples from our first languages, then I will know that okay this is what it means, rather than using English to explain because we will just be repeating what was said in the lectures without really understanding it

B: Coming to the essay topic issue- Nthabiseng you did say something about the workload involved in translating things for a number of languages, but let's say it were possible to translate essay topics. How would you feel about that?

M: oh, that would really help me because that is when I really understand.. you know what, in the last essay on commodification of Zuluness I first had to look up the meaning of the word 'commodification' because I had not really understood it in the lecture, so as I was saying I had to look it up in the dictionary. If it had been given to me in Xhosa I would have been able to understand immediately what it means, using the knowledge from the tutorial to guide me. Even though I looked it up in the dictionary the meaning there was not the exact meaning of the way it was used in the course, so I did not understand it in the way the course wanted us to understand it

M: Inganceda kakhulu loo nto kuba singatsho si-understande, uyazi kula essay on commodification kwafuneka ukuba ndijonge kwidictionary. Ukuba ndandiyinikwe ngesiXhosa ngendandiyazile into efunwayo. Even though ndayijonga imeaning kwidictionary zange ndiyisebenzise ngendlela enight.

B: Nwabisa, how do you feel?

N: well for me I am not really sure because I do love writing in my language but the person speaking English has an advantage over me, they usually get marks like seventy something, you know if we have to write five pages they are able to write three pages and still get something like seventy five percent. You then ask yourself but why?

B: Why do you think that is?

N: They can really express what they want to say- straight to the point, but again when I look at it, I want to learn to speak English because you know we are so different here and English is what combines us. So isn't it wise for me to try my best and learn English so as to survive at UCT

B: Interesting..so coming back to essay topics, how would you feel about having essay topics translated for you or maybe having people who speak your language there to talk to you and explain things in your languages, would you-?

N: Oh that would be great (laughs) that would be great because like the example that you (referring to Mzingisi) gave with the word 'commodification' you go to a dictionary to look up the meaning, then you have to take that definition and apply it to what is being said in the text and you find that you have a problem with showing the exact meaning.

B: so you both feel that it would help having someone to help with translating terms for you?

M: yes, that would help and save us a lot of worry you understand

M: ja, loo nto ingasiphungulela iiworry ezinintsi

B: ja I do. Okay, going back to praise poetry, do you feel that it really does give you a chance to work with something familiar to you as Africans and as second language speakers? Do you feel that it really gives you an advantage?

M: I would not really so because ...okay first of all we appreciate praise poetry because we know what it is all about, we know it from way back, but the problem is that you get excited about the poem but then when it comes to analyzing it, you have to analyze it in the English way, you know there is a difference when you analyze it in English and when you do it in a Xhosa way. You know that thing is ours but we are not expected to analyze it in our way, we have to analyze it in their way, so this is a drawback. Okay we love working with praise poetry because it is part of our background but when it comes to analyzing it you go back to the way of the White people and using their language, which means that you cannot analyze it the way the Xhosa language would allow you, so you end up back where you started, so it ends up being something ridiculous.

M: Andinokutsho, okay okokuqala siyayi-appreciate ipraise poetry kuba siyayazi, siyiqhelile, kodwa xa kufuneka i-analyzwe kubanzima kuba kufuneka uyenze the English way and ke kukho idifference xa uyenza in English naxa uyenza ngesiXhosa. You know that thing is ours but si-expected ukuba siyi-analyze ngendlela yabo so le nto yenza iingxaki.

N: For me you know it is good. You know as he (Mzukisi) was just talking I was reminded of the time when praise poetry was being done. The atmosphere in class, in my lecture was different. I realized that the ... (hesitates) the White students were really interested in this praise poetry, and we as Blacks we had something to say, to explain to them. So at least we felt like, okay I belong, because at least there is something that is discussed which belongs to us only and we had to explain to them why we do this and that in praise poetry.

B: let me go back to what Mzukisi said about being frustrated about liking praise poetry but having to write in English. How would you feel if you were given a chance to write it in xhosa?

M: That would be really nice and good for me. I would really be happy if I were able to write it in Xhosa, I feel that I would do my best and make it.

M: Ingabantle loo nto. Ndingavuya ukuba ndingayibhala ngesiXhosa, I would do my best ukuze ndiphumelele.

N: It would be great, I think so too. I remember in this one lecture one guy did a praise poem in Xhosa and after that he explained it to us in Xhosa. Others in the class did not understand it the way we did. So if I were to say it or write about it in English it would not explain it well, you know, reveal everything. So when I have to write about it in English I would think okay I have to write something even though it will not come out in the way I want it to. So if I were to write about praise poetry in my language I would also be able to produce that three pages instead of five and get a good mark (laughs).

B: Okay so let's say the both of you had just enrolled, niyafika eUCT let's imagine that it is the beginning of the year and you are going to start on the DOH course, would you still want praise poetry to be part of the course?

N: Yes of course

M: I also would want it there

M: ja nam ndingafuna ukuba yenziwe

B: how do you think the genre has helped you as far as being participants in the course?

N: it has really helped, you know this word participation is so important. One usually just does not feel like they are really participating

B: what exactly do *you* mean by 'participating'? Explain it to me please

N: Okay like I said about the praise poem in Xhosa, we knew it and understood it you know, so we were explaining it to those who did not understand what was going on. So we were really participating that time.

B: wow, that is interesting. Do you guys remember the essay on District Six, you know the one with the documentary photograph? Was there any particular thing that struck you when writing that essay?

N: you know that was really interesting, I learnt a lot

M; ja. me too it was new but interesting

N: I never thought you can look at one picture and produce those pages, so it was really interesting and we learnt a lot, especially from those Arts people. In our workgroups we had to do so much, and though we were not participating as we would have loved to we ended up learning a lot. Having to write the essay, you know that at least you have something, though it was scary knowing that I am not used to this, I have never written anything using a picture, but we did our best.

B: mmh interesting. Mzukisi?

M: Ja it was quite interesting being given a picture and then being expected to write, I actually wrote four pages. I never knew that you could actually look at a simple picture and be able to know the background of a place just by looking at things in the picture. So yes I learnt a lot as well.

M: ja yayi-interesting ukuba sinikwe ipicture kuthiwe umntu makabhale. Ndabhala ifour pages yonke. I never knew ukuba ungasebenzisa ipicture ukwazi ukubona izinto ezifana nebackground yendawo. So ja ndifunde into enintsi nam.

B: So are you, or rather, were you aware that you were working with different genres, like the photo

M: yes but only after a while, I really got to know what was going on

B: which essay did you find most interesting to write about? Okay let me remind you and you can just say the ones that you remember

N: there was one essay that I remember enjoying writing, let me think, but it had something to do with Shaka, oh it was the one given before the commodification one.

B: Mzukisi, can you remember?

M: you know the essay on documentary photograph, I thought I had really managed to write something there but I did not do as well as I thought, and then the last one was the one that I just handed in because I had to hand something in and I did well in that one.

M: you know la documentary photograph, I thought ndikwazile ukuphendula umbuzo but it turned out ukuba andenzanga kakuhle as I thought then kule yokugqibela ndandingazithembanga tu kanti ndizakuyipasa.

B: what do you think was the reason for your not doing well in the documentary photograph one?

M: It was using all those terms, the lecturer wrote that if I had used those terms I would have got a good mark. But I had not used the terms because I did not know them so I thought no

M: yayi zeza terms, ne lecturer yabhala ukuba if nda ndizisebenzisile itterms ngendifumene imark e-right.

B: these are interesting issues that you are raising, okay, last question what do you think about critical analysis, what is its value do you think?

M: I think it teaches us to look at something-eh how can I put this- in a different way you understand. You should be able to look at something and analyze it. I guess it helps in making one to think deeper, the brain really has to work, to think fast and understand quickly. You see now I can look at something and can talk about it, not

just look at one side but look at both sides and come up with an argument. So although it was really difficult to do, I can see the value.

M: Isifundisa ukuba sijonge into in a different way, uyaqonda. Kufuneka ukwazi ukujonga into ukwazi ukuyi-analyza. Isinceda ekucingeni deep, ingqondo ibe-fast ithathe lula. Ngoku ndiyakwazi ukujonga into ndithethe ngayo, ndingajongi nje icala elinye lodwa. So nangona ibinzima, ibiluncedo.

B: Nwabisa?

N: It really helped me too, let me give you an example- if you have two friends who quarell, you don't just listen to one side of the story, you have to hear what the other one says before you can say anything. You can be given this but there is a lot of hidden information which you have to find out before you can reach a conclusion.

B: How would you feel if there were tutorials conducted in your languages?

N: I usually have a problem in tutorials, you want to ask something in English, firstly you think, okay how am I going to phrase the question, you are still busy planning how to ask it in your head then someone else asks exactly the same question, asking it in the right way, because when you plan to ask the question you first go over it in your head in your own language and then when you rephrase it in English you think, no maan, this does not sound right, you have to change it, and in the mean time others are talking about something else. We do have questions we wish we can ask, just because we are sometimes quiet does not mean we understand.

B: so you think tutorials using your first languages is a good idea?

N: oh yes please (laughs)

M: In tutorials, tutors give you an article you do not understand and you first have to think, how am I going to ask this using proper English, you have to search your English to find the proper question. It is really a problem so I think those home language tutorials would help.

M: kwiitutorials iitutors zininika I-article wena let's say ungayi-understandi, ucinge ukuba uzakubuza njani iquestion, you have to search your proper English. Yiproblem le so I think those home language tutorials would help.

B: well this was a very interesting interview, thank you both for your participation and good luck with the rest of your courses.

APPENDIX D2

The first thing I thought about when I was looking at the second essay topic was ~~Archaeology~~ Anthropology. In that course I learnt how culture can be commodified. That is at least I knew something about the topic already.

So as I was planning how to approach this essay I thought ~~it~~ about what I already know. ~~but~~ I knew something from Anthropology, seeing things around me like young people who are selling cultural things in our neighbourhood. Firstly I thought about it generally, that is not specifically the Zulu but culture as the whole. I even remembered some television ^{magazine} adverts of culture.

The problem I encountered while planning ^{was} that it was pretty easy to plan but ^{not so easy} when it comes to putting it to a paper. What I realized about writing it is either you write too little or too much, whereas you must write appropriately. When you have too much to write it's like when you're talking to a friend ~~and~~ just saying everything. So when you have to select and take the essential information and shorten your essay the problem was encountered.

And again having to think about the film and how it was represented was a bit of a problem, but I tried my best. Hence it was okay to write from experience and wider reading but I had to select what I write and how I write it.

As I was thinking about the film representation I had some important things to say about this other episode, but couldn't because I didn't know how to put that down. eg

A part where Zulu women were "ba didietsa" Having to translate that to English I would say singing and that is not singing. So it was really hard to find words to explain what I was saying.

In this essay and others ^(Zulu's) my main problems was how to emphasize myself, that is what I really meant I couldn't write it down.

APPENDIX D2

Okokuqala eyona nto yenza ukuba ndingakwazi okanye ndingayilandeli lo mbuzo wale Commodification of Zuluness yayiyeyokuba kwa ekuqaleni ukuyoma ekupheleni kwale course DOH 101 zange ndizilandele izinto ekuthethwa ngazo. Nditsho netutors zazidikwa phofu ndim kumane ndibuza okokoko. Amagama ebabewasebenzisa nanga:- juxtaposition, irony, genre, orientation njalo njalo.

Eyona ngxaki ingamandla kukuba mna ndandingasilandeli isingesi ncam, ngoko lo nto yandibetha ekwenzeni iessay zam ngakumbi le yokugqibela. Kwanyanzeleka ukuba kuqala ndiyokujonga kwi "dictionary" eligama lithi commodification ukwenzela ukuba ndizokwazi ukufunda nokuqonda le nto ifunwayo. Xana ke uthe awawa sebenzisa la magama okanye ezi terms bendizibhalile awuzukufumana manqaku – kodwa ke ndawasebenzisa nangona ndingawaqondi ncam. Elinye igama ebabelisebenzisa leli "contextualisation" endingalazi nangoku.

Ezo zingxaki endathi ndazifumana ngenxa yokuba isingesi ndasenza ngolwimi lesibini, phofu kum isiNgesi / English lulwimi leshumi elinanye.

The thing that made it difficult for me to follow the question on Commodification of Zuluness was because from the beginning to the end of the course DOH 101 I did not follow what was being talked about. The tutors were bored that I was going to them, asking all the time. The terms that were used were the following: juxtaposition, irony, genre, orientation and so on.

The one thing that also contributed is the fact that I am not really fluent in the English language and that really affected me when I had to write my essays, especially the last one. I had to look words up in the dictionary, especially the term 'commodification' in order to know what was required of me. If one did not use these terms in the essay that meant that he/she would not get a good mark – anyway I used the terms even though I did not know what they really meant. The other term that was used is contextualisation whose meaning I do not know to this day.

These were the problems that I experienced when writing my essays especially the last one, the problem being that English is my second language, in fact I could say English is my 11th language.

APPENDIX E**TRANSLATIONS OF DATA FROM QUESTIONNAIRES AND INTERVIEWS**

1. Hona ke habane ho ya ka nna hore notho a tsebe puo a tla meha ho e bua , ho e bala le ho e ngola. Ka le baka lena ke fumana senyesemane se hlokahala haholo jwang hobane diphapusing ho sebediswa senyesemane feela.
2. Umbono wami ubuthi kungani sonke thina kanye nabezizwe, singasebenzisi ulimi okungesilo lamuntu ngoba engathi uma kusetyenziswa lolu lwabamhlophe izinto kubona zilula angiphathi ke uma sekubhalwa uma kuxoxwa uthola kuyibo phambili ubabone bephendulana bodwa. Thina usibona siloku siqalaza ubala sibonga khona ukuthi siyakwazi ukubezwa. Nokuthi noma singathini indlu kaZulu angeke sasizakala izwe elabo ibona abahamba yonke indawo angayicabanga.
3. Xa ubhala ngesiXhosa umsebenzi wesikolo ofana nesincoko, kulula ukuchaza imbilini yakho ngendlela oyibona ngayo into. Uyakwazi xa uthe wanikwa itopic uyilandele ngokunika ubungqina bokuyixhasa okanye ukuyichasa.
4. Hona ke ho fihlela hobane ha se hore ba bang ba rona batswang dikolo tsa maemo a. Hase re fumana dimaraka tsa tsase ke ho rata, empu e le bokgani bo hase ba senyesemane
5. xa ubhala ngolwimi lakho uyakwazi ukucacisa, ubeke into ngale ndlela yakho ufuna ngayo. Kanti kule yemboleko awukwazi kunaba ngale ndlela ufuna ngayo
6. xa unokuyibhala ngesiLungu awunakuziva izingqi zembongi. Uyakwazi ukungabi namdla xa ibhalwe ngesiLungu xa uyazi ukuba ibiyeye siXhosa.
7. Zwikhodo zwa dzinwe tshaka, fhana Afurika Tshipembe.
8. into endingayithandiyo yile yokuba ibhalwe ngabantu abamhlophe

APPENDIX F1**Table 1: Students' responses, primary languages and gender**

STUDENTS	PRIMARY LANGUAGES	GENDER	RESPONSE
Nobuhle	Xhosa, Afrikaans	Female	yes
Sizwe	Zulu	Male	no
Mbulelo	Xhosa	Male	yes
Anele	South Sesotho	Female	yes
Khaya	Xhosa	Male	unsure
Nwabisa	South Sesotho	Female	no
Pearl	Xhosa	Female	no
Siyabulela	Xhosa	Male	no
Peace	Zulu	Female	unsure
Mzukisi	Xhosa	Male	unsure
Viwe	Zulu	Female	yes

APPENDIX F2**TABLE 2: STUDENTS' PRIMARY LANGUAGES, GENDER AND RESPONSES**

STUDENTS	PRIMARY LANGUAGES	GENDER	RESPONSE
ANELE	SOUTH SESOTHO	FEMALE	yes
EDDIE	XHOSA	MALE	unsure
KHOMOTSO	TSHIVENDA	MALE	yes
LUNDI	TSHIVENDA	MALE	no
MBULELO	XHOSA	MALE	unsure
MOGETSI	S. SESOTHO & XHOSA	MALE	yes
MZUKISI	XHOSA	MALE	yes
KHAYA	XHOSA	MALE	yes
NALEDI	SETSWANA	FEMALE	unsure
NWABISA	SOUTH SOTHO	FEMALE	no
NOZUKO	XHOSA	FEMALE	no
NTOMBI	XHOSA	FEMALE	yes
FRANCIS	TSONGA, ZULU, VENDA	MALE	yes
PHINDILE	XHOSA	MALE	unsure
PEARL	XHOSA	FEMALE	no
SINDILE	XHOSA	MALE	unsure
SIYABULELA	XHOSA	MALE	no
SIZWE	ZULU	MALE	unsure
VIWE	ZULU	FEMALE	unsure
XOLANI	ZULU	FEMALE	yes
ZAMA	ZULU	FEMALE	yes